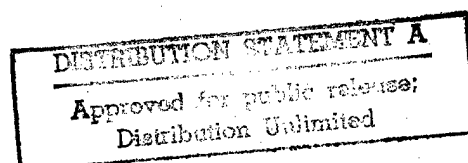


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To order, see inside front cover

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CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Trade Union Problems Discussed With TU Official
(V. Bezel Interview; SVET PRACE, No 11, 3 Jun 83)..... 1

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Expelled Dissident Jahn on His Experiences With Regime
(R. Jahn; DER SPIEGEL, Nos 25-26, 20, 27 Jun 83)..... 12

POLAND

- Proposed Changes in State Administration Discussed
(Z. Rybicki Interview; RADA NARODOWA GOSPODARKA
ADMINISTRACJA, No 11, 30 May 83)..... 37

- Provincial Party Activities Reported
(Various sources, various dates)..... 45

Party Indoctrination Required
Party Audit Commission Necessary
Party Activities at Railroad Repair Shops

- Provincial PRON Activities Reported
(Various sources, various dates)..... 53

Prenational Congress PRON for Common Good
Precongress PRON Vis-a-Vis Schools, Teachers
Elblag Province PRON Congress
Lodz, Piotrkow, Skierniewice PRON Congresses
Delegates for Szczecin PRON Congress

- National Position Toward New Law of Sea Assessed
(Various sources, various dates)..... 64

National Disadvantages, Advantages
Factors Determining National Position

TRADE UNION PROBLEMS DISCUSSED WITH TU OFFICIAL

Prague SVET PRACE in Czech No 11, 3 Jun 83 pp 3-5

[Interview with Vaclav Bezel, deputy chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions and chairman of the Czech Council of Trade Unions, by Dr L. Hoschl; date and place not specified]

[Text] More than a year has elapsed since the 10th Congress of Trade Unions. Admittedly, this time is not long enough to undertake a thorough evaluation of how the congress resolutions are being implemented in practice. Nevertheless it is perhaps possible and necessary to identify the positive trends in realizing the policy set by the 10th Congress of Trade Unions, on what we must place greater emphasis, and what must be thought through more carefully. This was specifically the subject of our interview with Comrade Vaclav Bezel, deputy chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions and chairman of the Czech Council of Trade Unions.

SVET PRACE: Comrade Chairman, let us begin with a balance, albeit a partial one.

Bezel: As already mentioned in the introduction, only a short time has elapsed since the 10th Congress of Trade Unions.

For the time being, therefore, it is not possible to make an extensive and thorough evaluation of how the congress resolutions are being implemented in practice. In spite of this, a partial balance can nevertheless be made. First of all it should be emphasized that we have succeeded in implanting the congress resolutions, their ideas and orientation, into the lives of practically all trade union organs and organizations; that these organs and organizations understand the purpose of the resolutions; and that the trade union movement is proceeding in the direction set by the 10th Congress of Trade Unions. This is evident in every activity of the trade unions.

Already last year, for example, the pledges made by our workers and the growing activity of the trade unions demonstrated that the 10th Congress of Trade Unions had adopted a sound policy, which therefore gained wide support among the workers, a policy that is in accord with the significant contribution that the trade unions are making toward satisfying the present and future needs of our society's development.

Another characteristic feature of realizing the congress conclusions is that we now have, in the central organs of the revolutionary trade union movement as well as at the plants and enterprises, fairly clearly formulated basic tasks that the trade unions will solve, or in whose solution they will participate, up to the 11th Congress of Trade Unions.

It cannot be said that any trade union organ or organization has failed to respond to the conclusions of the 10th congress. But the way things are, of course, elaboration of the resolutions adopted by the 10th congress is not of the same quality everywhere. Essential and decisive, however, is that the conclusions of the congress have been projected very clearly in the greater activity of the revolutionary trade union movement, and also in this year's schedule of the trade union organizations activity. We at the central organs of the revolutionary trade union movement did not issue quite intentionally a schedule of activity for this year because we wanted the trade union organs and organizations themselves to elaborate at every level, in accordance with their conditions and needs, the conclusions adopted by the congress. It appears that this decision has been a sound one, even though elaboration of the policy set by the 10th congress varies considerably in its quality. But we expected that. We also wanted to gain some experience of how the trade union organs--from the central committees of the trade unions, through the kraj, okres, enterprise and plant trade union committees, down to the trade union locals--would be able to cope with this task. And this is also in accord with what we are promoting today not only in our trade unions but in our entire society as well, i.e., to provide maximum room for the workers' initiative and activity.

SVET PRACE: Has this step proved sound and functional?

Bezel: We think so. After all, immediately after a congress it is not necessary to add additional tasks to its resolutions. Moreover, this procedure will show where are the strong points as well as the weak spots in the work of the trade unions. And on this basis we will already be able to set, in the schedule of activity for 1984, the tasks for which we must aim or to which we will have to devote special attention. We also anticipate that in this way we will be able to prepare a balance of what we have been able to accomplish in 1982 and 1983 in implementing the conclusions of the 10th congress, and--after a necessary interval of time--also to set as soundly and accurately as possible the revolutionary trade union movement's tasks for the coming period.

In realizing the conclusions of the 10th congress I regard as very favorable the fact that already in 1982 and 1983 the central trade union organs have discussed with the state organs a number of questions that followed from the proceedings of the congress, and they also agreed on the joint procedure for solving these questions. In this way there developed an integrated list of tasks on whose solution the trade unions and the state organs will be working jointly.

SVET PRACE: At what level have the discussions between the trade unions and the state organs been held up to now?

Bezel: So far there have been discussions between the Central Council of Trade Unions and the federal government, between the Czech Council of Trade Unions and the CSR government, between the Slovak Council of Trade Unions and the SSR government; furthermore between the central committees of the trade unions and the

appropriate ministries, between the kraj trade union councils and the kraj national committees, and finally between the okres trade union councils and the okres national committees.

SVET PRACE: In other words we could say that more has been done than in the past for the joint action of the trade unions and of the state organs, and that cooperation between them has improved?

Bezel: I think we could say that. For between all the mentioned organs there now exist agreements on joint procedures. That was not the case everywhere in the past. And there is now also another entirely new element in comparison with the past. Today there are agreements on joint procedures also between the kraj committees of the trade unions and the appropriate departments of the kraj national committees. Likewise favorable is that the measures agreed upon are more specific, and their response is better and more timely to economic as well as social problems.

In my opinion, it is very valuable that specifically the 10th Congress of Trade Unions has helped to achieve that, figuratively speaking, the ice has been broken and efficient, fruitful and effective cooperation has started between the plant and enterprise trade union committees on the one hand, and the economic managements of the plants and enterprises on the other.

SVET PRACE: We are able to confirm this also from our own experience. When we visit plants and enterprises, we bring back much information indicating that trade union activity at the plants and enterprises has clearly increased, and that they are playing a growing role in the solution of economic as well as social problems. This general trend does exist. In spite of this, which are the areas of trade union work where a shift is clearly evident, and where has such a shift not occurred as yet?

Bezel: It would be too early to make any more significant conclusions. Perhaps it should be emphasized that since the 10th congress the trade union members' identification with the policy set by the congress has been quite obvious, and it is also clearly understood that although all the basic tasks set by the congress must be fulfilled in a balanced manner, emphasis in trade union activity must be placed on the creation and use of material resources. From the viewpoint of the trade unions, then, the point is to increase the workers' participation in the development of the economy on the one hand, and to improve and upgrade care for the workers on the other. When we spoke of cooperation with the state and economic organs, the substantive orientation of joint action is clearly evident in these areas.

In this context I would like to emphasize a basic question. While certain agreements are being concluded between the trade unions and the state economic organs at the higher levels, at the level of the plants and enterprises it is the collective contracts that formulate the joint actions of the trade unions and the economic managements. After evaluating the content of the collective contracts for this year, we may safely say that they are more specific than last year and in the preceding years, and they penetrate more deeply into the practical problems. I think that this too has been enhanced significantly by the 10th congress when it adopted a resolution that for the first time calls for the registration of the collective contract by the higher trade union and economic organ. Thereby the role of collective contracts has been enhanced, and their practical significance has increased. Which means that they offer more guaranty of their fulfillment.

Briefly stated. Without overestimating what has been achieved since the 10th congress in the work of the trade unions and in the intensification of their social mission, we may say without exaggeration that a basic pillar has been built for upgrading all trade union work and, if I may say so, the foundation has been laid for the gradual transition of the trade unions to a higher and more effective quality of their overall activity.

SVET PRACE: From the conclusions of the 10th congress and of the subsequent plenary sessions of the Central Council of Trade Unions it follows that the trade unions are devoting close attention to the question of the economy's intensification. The revolutionary trade union movement's participation in implementing this task is constantly growing. Despite all the successes that have already been achieved in this direction, it is obvious that even more has to be done. What should the trade union organs and organizations aim for even more emphatically in this respect?

Bezel: The immediate task of the trade unions is to devote constant attention to the fulfillment of this year's plan, and of the collective contracts as well, since the plan and the collective contracts are closely interconnected. The trade unions must strive even more emphatically to broaden the workers' participation in management and to develop the workers' initiative. The majority of our collectives, plants, individuals and enterprises made pledges to commemorate the 35th anniversary of Victorious February. But one cannot stop in this initiative. It must be constantly broadened and intensified, and the pledges must be defined, controlled and evaluated. And, of course, the workers' initiative must be directed primarily toward the qualitative indicators, toward saving raw materials, energy, supplies, metals, and direct labor as well. The principle must be pursued consistently that we must produce not merely for the sake of production, but for use. In other words, we must produce what we need for capital construction, what the domestic market requires, and what we are able to export economically and advantageously. To socialist countries and nonsocialist countries alike. It is absolutely essential to improve cooperation between plants, and to emphatically eliminate the shortcomings in supplier-user relations that are being constantly criticized by our workers. This, too, must be one of the goals toward which the mobilization of the workers and the development of socialist competition must constantly be directed. Closely related to this is the question of the innovation movement. It must be based on the realization that our purpose is not to produce just any products, but products of the best quality and of a high technical level, products that expand the assortment offered on the domestic market, products that sell well abroad. The comprehensive efficiency brigades should play an important role in this process. But at present our comprehensive efficiency brigade movement is lagging somewhat.

SVET PRACE: What is causing this lag?

Bezel: I do not think that our blue-collar workers, technicians and other employees have changed. To the contrary, they would like to work better. But the main problem is probably that they are not being assigned specific tasks to the necessary extent. Primarily by economic management. But our trade union organizations likewise are not doing everything they could in this respect. And if the comprehensive efficiency brigades are not given specific suggestions, then also the results of their work are not what they should be.

SVET PRACE: When the conferences of the brigades of socialist labor were being held late last year, it seemed to us that this movement was entering a new stage, and that it was possible and necessary to elaborate further the criteria of competition, because some of the things that applied to the brigade movement and served as its motive in the past are not always entirely satisfactory today. Now, as you have said, from the viewpoint of research and development it is necessary to place greater emphasis within the brigade movement on invention, innovation, on the qualitative and intensification criteria of production. And, of course, also on the questions of intensifying the socialist way work and life within the brigades of socialist labor.

Bezel: Already the mentioned statewide branch conferences of the brigades of socialist labor demonstrated that the collectives of these brigades clearly understood the need to change over to distinctly qualitative criteria of competition. Thus the point today is not to fulfill the plan at all cost, but to produce what we need. And the activity of the brigades is gradually changing in this direction. It should be noted, however, that from the conferences of the brigades of socialist labor our trade unions must draw, as soon as possible and to the maximum extent, conclusions such that the conferences may provide a further boost for developing the efforts of our workers, and hence also of the collectives of the socialist labor brigades. The fact remains that we would like to and must develop the socialist labor brigade movement. But it is likewise true that so far our trade union organs have drawn very little from the conferences, and that boost and intensification of the socialist labor brigade movement are not manifesting as yet the trends that we expected of the conferences.

SVET PRACE: In many respects, the conferences of the brigades of socialist labor were stimulating. Although not on the same level, in general it can be said that many good and inspiring ideas were advanced at the conferences. In the main reports as well as in the contributions to the debate. Now the point is that all the suggestions be fully utilized within the socialist labor brigade movement.

Bezel: Yes, it is necessary to analyze the conclusions of the conferences by branches. The Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions recently evaluated the results of the conference, but from the level of the Central Council it is not possible to give some universal instruction for all the trade unions on how to utilize the conclusions of the conferences of the brigades of socialist labor. That must be done by the trade unions themselves. The Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions directly demands that the maximum be extracted from the conferences of the brigades of socialist labor. Thus the conferences must tell us not only how to proceed further, and not so much the way to increase the mass nature of the socialist labor brigade movement, because it is already a mass movement, but how to raise its quality. And if we speak of developing worker participation in management, and of increasing the workers' initiative in all areas within the life of our society and in the economy in particular, then this also ties in with intensifying the role of the production conferences. For the production conferences are the base where the workers within the given collective directly see the results and problems of their work. And where else than on the basis of the production conferences should we create better conditions enabling the people to work better, earn more, and of course also to buy more on the domestic market (this is closely related with higher earnings), to live better, etc.

SVET PRACE: Which means that the role of the production conferences must be strengthened and upgraded constantly.

Bezel: The production conferences are the basic link. We spoke about the importance of the discussions that the trade unions held with the governmental or branch economic organs, with the kraj national committees, etc. But if we do not raise the role of the production conferences at the plants and enterprises --in other words, directly at the basic link--then we will hardly be able to implement any of the good ideas that we launch from above, so to speak. Therefore we must regard the production conferences as the key factor that generates the success of our work, and hence also our good work results. Good managing and organizing work must head the whole effort. Without good management and organization we easily could and do find ourselves in a situation where the workers' initiative is a substitute for inadequate managerial work. The trade union organs and organizations must harshly criticize such a situation.

SVET PRACE: Thus in no case should the workers' initiative substitute for or replace the activity of the economic managing organs. This cannot be tolerated, and matters must not be perceived in this manner.

Bezel: Of course, this sometimes does happen, and the workers justifiably object to it. After all, we cannot endlessly replace with the workers' initiative the shortcomings in planning and management. From the workers' initiative we want something more, something in excess of the plan. In other words, to save more raw materials, supplies and direct labor. The workers' initiative can produce products of better quality than what were designed. In sum it can be said that we want the development of the workers' initiative to clearly help improve the lives of our workers.

When we speak of the present tasks in the economic and social areas, it should be emphasized that we are confronted with a very important task. Work on drafting the 1984 plan began in mid-May. I do not wish to analyze the shortcomings in preparing the plan for 1983, or the fact that we have not been able to fully utilize the method of counterplanning. The fact remains that neither the state, nor the economic, nor the trade union organs and organizations can be satisfied with the preparation of the plan for 1983. What is taking place at present is practically already the drafting of the 1984 plan. Profiting also from the shortcomings last year, we wish to fulfill our role better; we want to consistently fulfill the tasks that stem for 1984 from the law on the Seventh Five-Year Plan. And, of course, we want to do this even under the more complex economic conditions that objectively exist.

SVET PRACE: What should the trade unions be doing specifically now and in this situation?

Bezel: In the present stage, our highest trade union and all-union organs should establish close contact with the state and economic organs to ensure that the guideline tasks for 1984 get to the collectives and plants as soon as possible. So that this year we may take advantage of the opportunity to consult the workers on what kind of plan to prepare and how to utilize counterplanning. We must also consider how to obtain additional wage funds from the savings of manpower, and what to do to overfulfill the profit plan and thus create additional resources for the working collectives and for society. Last year we justifiably objected that the months of July and August were not very suitable for drafting the plan, because many workers were on vacations. This is an objective phenomenon which means that these people actually have no interest in preparing the plan. And that

is not good. This year, then, the situation is changing, and we must take advantage of it. We have an opportunity to ensure that individuals and working collectives can better participate in the formation of the economic plans, through their suggestions and comments, so that the method of counterplanning may be employed more widely. The point is simply that the proposal of the 1984 plan that leaves the plans or enterprises must not be solely the plan of the economic management or planners, but the plan of the workers and their collectives. We spoke of the production conferences in conjunction with fulfilling the plan, but we must emphasize also their decisive role in preparing the plan. Where else should we consult with the workers than specifically at the level of the working collective, shop, department, etc. This of course will require that these production conferences, instead of discussing the enterprise's plan in general figures, decide what the given collective will do, what tasks it will accept and fulfill in 1984.

SVET PRACE: And this must be done comprehensively, not only from the viewpoint of what the plan sets, but also from the viewpoint of what emphasis is being placed on, be it the problems of technical development, savings, etc. Preparation of the plan should consider all these aspects.

Bezel: Yes, and not only the question of production, but also of care for the workers. For already in the course of preparing the 1984 plan, also the basis of the collective contracts for 1984 should be formulated. People in their own collective know best what their main problems are, and these are not always things that are investment-intensive. A number of problems can be solved quickly even under the given investment and financial conditions. I think that our plant or enterprise trade union committees will have their task made easier if they take into consideration the suggestions made by the production conferences and include these suggestions in the legal contract between the leadership of the trade union and the economic management, i.e., in the collective contracts for 1984. Just as we do not want the economic plan to be drafted without the workers, merely by the planners and economists, in the same way we do not want the collective contract to be drafted solely by the chairman of the trade union plant committee or only by a narrow circle within the plant committee, without thorough knowledge of the workers' problems and needs. In other words, on the basis of the production conferences there should be formulated already now actually two separate documents at the plant or enterprise level. The draft of the economic plan, and the draft of a program for the care of the workers that would then be incorporated in the collective contract.

SVET PRACE: Much is being said, and has been said also at the 10th congress, about developing khozraschet at the brigade level, and about khozraschet in general. What has been done in this area? On the basis of our experience gained from the plants and enterprises, it seems to us that progress has been rather slow, that this form of the workers' high initiative is not very widespread for the time being, and that there is also some fear of it.

Bezel: So far as the system of brigade work and remuneration is concerned, in agreement with the government we are testing it experimentally in selected collectives. Judging by the experience of our Soviet friends, we see it as one of the highest and most specific forms of asserting worker participation in management. The point here is not only remuneration, but work organization as well. We know that this form could significantly improve work organization, and also

remuneration. Therefore we will be spreading and not abandoning it. After all, we cannot go on just talking and complaining that we have wage equalization. The brigade form of work organization and remuneration will help us also to end anonymity in questions of labor morale and discipline, because the worker collective itself knows best who is working well and who is just freeloading so to speak. For the time being we are still experimenting, but not in order to test the soundness of this form. That has already been proven. But we want to know what it will produce in practice, what problems and difficulties will arise in the course of realization. And then, after evaluation conducted jointly with the government, we will adopt the brigade form of work and remuneration as one of the basic methods of worker participation in management.

SVET PRACE: In the course of this interview we have already encountered several times the problem of management. That involves primarily working with people.

Bezel: Working with people is not easy, and it obviously is very complex. The manager must be able to understand and solve the workers' needs and problems. This ability enhances the authority of the production organizers or trade union officials. Their authority is likewise enhanced if they have the courage to confront the problems, instead of circumventing them. The foreman or section steward must have the courage to say that you, esteemed comrade, are a loafer, an unsatisfactory worker, a parasite. The point is simply to find the courage to tell the truth. And specifically herein lies the significance of solving problems within the working collectives. This is far more complicated at an all-plant meeting or some other conference. But also at these levels we must learn to say things clearly, fully, and without embellishment.

SVET PRACE: You, Comrade Chairman, have arrived at a problem that also the 10th congress raised directly and specifically. The problem of strengthening the position of the foremen and section stewards. We find foremen and section stewards who have the courage to speak out frankly and uncompromisingly. But often they practically merely hint. And what is the worst, they often do not get the necessary support when they act as they should. Neither from management nor from the trade union organ.

Bezel: The foreman and the section steward are two key people who live and work with the collective from morning until evening. They know the collective's work problems, its joys of success and problems of failure. But they also know in essence the workers' family problems, the worries that they encounter in life. I think we really are trying to increase the role of the foremen and section stewards, and not merely paying lip service to it. Already before the latest annual meetings of the revolutionary trade union movement, therefore, we insisted that the trade union sections be headed by the most experienced trade union members. And we will continue to insist on this also at the coming wide deliberations of trade union members, which will begin with the trade union sections. On the plant committees, where there are several experienced comrades, even the less experienced one is able to learn. But the section steward as a trade union official essentially stands alone.

If the section steward is immature and lacks the workers' respect, he is hardly able to support the foreman's authority. If the section steward enjoys the confidence of his people, is honest and not afraid to call a spade a spade, he is able to support also the foreman's authority. And this works also the other way around.

SVET PRACE: Speaking of the problem of foremen and section stewards, we come back to the production conferences. There specifically the foremen and section stewards should be playing first fiddle.

Bezel: Naturally, but with the help of the trade union and economic organs, because the foremen and section stewards are unable to solve everything themselves. Which means that the trade union and economic organs should devote close attention to the work of the foremen and section stewards. After all, that is where the center of our successes lies. The congresses, plenary sessions of the Central Council of Trade Unions, etc. may adopt the best possible conclusions, but the results of our work are produced in the trade union sections, in the shops and in the working collectives. Our best possible conclusions and intentions will not be worth anything if they are not projected into an improvement of the work of the trade union sections and local organizations.

The 10th Congress of Trade Unions strongly emphasized this conception of the trade unions' work, and we cannot relinquish this basic task. Also for this reason we want the officials of the higher trade union organs not to sit in their offices, but to go to the local organizations. We are also striving to relieve trade union officials at the plants of certain unnecessary activities, so that they may devote as much time as possible to working with people.

SVET PRACE: The question of unnecessary meetings belongs among the problems that are constantly criticized. It appears that there are too many meetings and conferences. When we visit some factory, we usually find that many of the trade union officials are attending some meeting, activ or conference. Do you find this a healthy phenomenon? The Soviet Union has recently begun to rigorously limit the number of meetings, activs and conferences. Indeed, too much time is being spent on meetings. Perhaps the many unnecessary meetings should be reduced more radically also in our country.

Bezel: Herein lies an immense reserve. It is truly an obligatory task to limit the various fruitless activs and seminars. Thorough preparation of every discussion and meetings is one way of solving this problem, to ensure that the discussions and meetings are effective, meaningful and specifically prepared. But I think this should apply also to production organizers, because also their daily work takes place in the shops and at the work stations. This sometimes requires mutual criticism, and sometimes also the courage to cancel a fruitless meeting. And sometimes even the elimination of a measure of indolence on the part of our trade union officials. After all, it is more convenient to sit in the office than to go to a work station and listen sometimes also to criticism there, and to also solve the problems, of course. If this is not done and no result is evident, then the officials lose their authority, as does the organization that they represent.

SVET PRACE: Then one might say that the trade union official who prefers to sit through various meetings or is closeted in his office cannot be regarded as a good official?

Bezel: He cannot be a good official without working directly with people. V. I. Lenin emphasized this. And it is still valid even today. When we speak of co-operation between the revolutionary trade union movement and the state economic organs, we are pursuing a policy that the entire plant committee hold

discussions with management, and that the discussions cover problems that have been well prepared. We must avoid having our officials sit through meetings on some questions that they do not even understand because, say, some specific technical problems are being discussed. Then it is said that the trade unions attended the conference, but . . .

SVET PRACE: But their participation there is somehow barren.

Bezel: Yes, it does not contribute anything. When speaking of these problems, we cannot leave unmentioned another task directly confronting us in the fulfillment of the trade unions' dual role. It will soon be July and August, and the revolutionary trade union movement will hold its semiannual meetings at which a semiannual review of the fulfillment of the plans, collective contracts and socialist pledges will take place. This is a long established practice in our country and it is being maintained. But what do we intend to do to improve its quality this year? First of all in the semiannual review of plan fulfillment we do not want the economists to dump a lot of numbers on the workers; instead, the semiannual balance meetings must become conferences between management and the workers, conferences at which the problems are pointed out, but at the same time also ways are found to solve the problems jointly, with the participation of the given collective. The same applies to collective contracts, and their fulfillment must likewise be evaluated thoroughly. We must state specifically what we have accomplished during the first six months in the area of our joint legal contract, in the formation of resources, and in caring for the workers; and what has yet to be done in the second half of the year. Closely linked to this is the review of the fulfillment of socialist pledges. The point here is not merely to say what has been fulfilled; sometimes it is also necessary to reassess the situation and to adopt new pledges. And speaking of the tasks directly confronting us, we are aware that fulfillment of the plan, and of the tasks set by the party's economic and social policy, will not be easy this year. We must also weather the undeclared economic war that capitalism is waging against us. But we know from past experience that there is no problem our people are unable to solve, provided we explain the situation to them and lead them properly.

The 7th session of the CPCZ Central Committee has set three basic objectives: First, to increase further the growth rate of our economy; secondly, to maintain the high standard of living; and thirdly, cooperating more closely with the Soviet Union and the CEMA countries, to further reduce our convertible-currency debt to capitalist countries. These tasks are not easy ones, but we must fulfill them. Serious today is the question of the struggle for peace and disarmament. Our trade union movement is conducting intensive trade union activity with the trade unions in the other socialist countries, and also in the capitalist and developing countries. A world peace rally will be held in Prague this June. Sometimes the participation of our trade unions in this world peace rally is narrowed down to our workers providing resources for this peace congress, possibly to their working extra shifts, etc. Our contribution, however, must be much greater than that. We must utilize this great peace rally as an opportunity for our workers to demonstrate to the foreign guests--who come to us longing for peace and are fighting for it, but who are conditioned by bourgeois propaganda to believe that we or the Soviet Union are obstructing peace or are the cause of the worsening international situation--that we all sincerely long for peace, want to work in peace and are not rattling our sabres. During

the Prague world peace rally, also our revolutionary trade union movement will have a great responsibility. I know from personal experience that in the developing and the capitalist countries the struggle for progress and peace is being led by trade union members, provided the unions are not reactionary ones. We are pleased that trade union representatives will be visiting us on this occasion. I think that it will be necessary not only to prepare these visits and organize meetings between the visitors and our workers, but also to demonstrate to them the efforts of our people in the struggle for peace. We do not always agree on all matters, and not all foreign trade unions want to travel the socialist road. But on one thing we do agree: on the questions of the struggle for peace, on the questions of the struggle for world progress. I have returned recently from an exhausting trip to Lebanon, Yemen and Kuwait. And I was very pleasantly surprised by their solidarity against the deployment of American missiles in Europe. Let us admit, this issue does not concern them directly. But they are keenly aware that the fate of any point in the world affects in the final outcome everyone. For those of us who have lived through World War II and have seen the destroyed cities in the Soviet Union and throughout Europe, today's Beirut was very depressing. People who had visited it in the past had spoken of it as the pearl of the Middle East. Today it is a destroyed battlefront city. We also are aware that the present international situation poses the threat all cities in the world might become similar to this one. Therefore when we speak of our dual task today, we have in mind not only implementation of the party's economic and social policy that we support, but also intensification of our efforts in the struggle for peace. And here we must remember Gottwald's eternally valid slogan: "By Building Your Country You are Strengthening Peace." This slogan is timely also today.

SVET PRACE: We thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2400/330

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EXPELLED DISSIDENT JAHN ON HIS EXPERIENCES WITH REGIME

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37, No 25, 26, 20, 27 Jun 83

[Article by Roland Jahn, expelled from GDR in 1983, currently residing in FRG: "'You Are Like Poison'—Peace Activist Roland Jahn on His Expulsion from GDR (and on) the 'Jena Scene'"]

[20 Jun, pp 78-84]

[Text] Following the departure of several members of the Jena peace movement shortly before the Whitsun holidays, the SED rid itself in a spectacular manner of a particularly obstreperous GDR citizen from Thuringia some 3 weeks later—a man who had been a thorn in the party's side for some time: Jena transport worker Roland Jahn was forcibly taken across the border to the West both against his own will and in violation of GDR laws. In DER SPIEGEL, Jahn reports on his being bounced out and on the singleminded peace activists in his hometown of Jena.

The GDR could not have picked a worse time for throwing me out of the country. After the initial hubbub after my arrival in the West had died down, it quickly became clear to me what all the excitement was about. Many people felt I had come just in time for the 17th of June—as a star witness against the inhumanity of the GDR regime. Now that is a bit too simple for my taste.

I am not opposed to the system; I still consider myself a socialist even if there are a lot of things I don't like about real socialism in the GDR as it exists today.

There are some people in the FRG who appear to have misunderstood these things. They would have liked it best, if I had come out right away with a condemnation of the SS-20's without uttering a word of criticism about NATO modernization.

It doesn't take long for a person to feel taken advantage of and used for all sorts of purposes. Last Tuesday afternoon, for example, I was asked to come to the SFB studios in Berlin to participate in the taping of a panel discussion for the Third Program in Bavaria.

The title of the show was "Expelled, but not Silenced." I could have gone along with that; but when I found out that the subject was the 17th of June I almost fell from my chair. I certainly do have an opinion of my own about the workers' struggle on 17 June 1953 for their rights—but the anti-communist backdrop against which such solemn observances are played out I do not like.

At first, I felt like leaving the studio but then I told myself: now you have all the more reason to stay and as a matter of fact, the whole business did turn out differently from what some of the participants had expected.

As an expellee, one really has to watch one's step in the West so that one does not get railroaded into things. For that matter, it was not all that easy to explain why I don't want to have an FRG passport and that I do want to go back to the country that threw me out in such a shabby way.

I want to make a difference inside the country; not outside—because I can well understand those people in Jena who say: "First, you raise all sorts of hell, then you take off and we are the ones who get stung."

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The 7th of June was a Tuesday, a beautiful summer day. I was walking in the pedestrian zone in Jena with some girls. We were all eating ice cream. I felt great.

I had a 5.45 pm appointment at the city housing commissioner's office because I wanted to move into the apartment of my friend Peter Kaehler who left for the West shortly before the Whitsun holidays. That apartment is bigger and nicer than mine and in a more convenient location as well.

But the housing office immediately turned me over to the internal affairs people where brother Bock was already waiting for me. He is the one who handles trips outside the country. "Here is the document that strips you of your GDR citizenship." Those were his first words to me. "I want you to take it and sign it."

"Nothing doing," I said. Besides, he knew, did he not, that I was a resident of Jena and wished to remain one.

Suddenly, two members of the SSD came charging into the room and grabbed me. "You may go and pick up your luggage now," Bock said to me in a businesslike way. The two men had a tight grip on me and out we went through the back door.

There was a whole reception committee waiting for us already: two SSD cars—one with men in uniform inside and the other from the interior ministry. Quite a to-do for a single solitary enemy of the people!

I was made to sit between Bock and a colleague of his and we drove to my apartment at 14 Kaethe Kollwitz Strasse. As we were getting out, they took their eyes off me for a few seconds. "Now or never," I told myself and started running.

It was about 50 meters to the apartment of a girl friend of mine. That is where I was running to, straight across Leninstrasse with the men and four of them in uniform as well as a whole bunch of them in civilian clothes running after me. Bock, who was leading the pack, was most excited of all. He would certainly have had a bad time of it, if I had gotten away.

I ran all the way to the top floor and took refuge in my friend's apartment. Those who were pursuing me thought I was on the roof at first and went charging all the way to the top of the building. But about 2 minutes later they had it figured out that I was in the apartment and in a flash they were there.

For a moment, I wondered whether there was any sense of making for the balcony. But they would have let me jump. The main thing, as far as they were concerned, was to take me out of circulation.

Then they put me in chains. It was an iron chain into which they slip two rods which are connected by a slot and the policeman can tighten them. One slight movement and the chain really cuts into your wrist.

They led me out of the building to Leninstrasse where the cars were waiting like a violent criminal. It was almost 7 pm by now and there were lots of children playing outside. 20 or 30 people were standing about and staring at me. I felt quite embarrassed. "I don't want you to think I murdered somebody," I called out to them. "It's just that I don't want to go to the West."

Then came the worst part of it: the drive in a convoy to Probstzella. It had been a gorgeous day; the countryside was so fantastically peaceful and here I was in a situation that was quite unreal. I had lived in the same place for 29 years where I had had trouble and made trouble. But now, all of a sudden, I was supposed to leave. I was unprepared for that; for the moment, I could not fathom it at all. I remembered what an SSD interrogator had called me. "You are like poison," he had said.

I still could not believe they were going to go through with it. I thought at the last moment they would get an order from above saying something like 'Bock did this whole thing on his own. Stop it; this time you went too far.'

But nothing of the sort happened, of course. At Probstzella, they led me into a small room with a spyhole in the door. I sat there from about 8 pm until shortly before 3 o'clock the next morning.

Then they took me to the railroad station. It was not until later that I found out we were waiting for the D 301 from Berlin-Friedrichstrasse terminal to Munich that leaves Probstzella at 3.10 am and arrives in Ludwigsstadt 7 minutes later.

When the train pulled into the station I rebelled against my fate one last time. It can't be true, I said to myself. They can't throw me out of the country against my will. I fought them with everything I had; I didn't move an inch although it hurt like hell when those chains cut into my wrists.

I cried out in pain. One of the guards put his arm around my neck from behind and pulled on it so I couldn't utter another sound.

They dragged me to the train, to the rear door of the last car, which was a sleeper. Two of the men got in with me and took me to the rear platform of the car. All the doors—the one to the toilet and the one leading to the corridor along the sleeper compartments—were locked.

There the three of us stood for another moment until the train got ready to go.

Then my two guards jumped out, slammed the door and locked it from the outside. It is an incredible sensation when you are suddenly standing there alone in the last car looking out the rear door at the tracks and everything is disappearing behind you. It's like in the movies.

When we got to Ludwigsstadt, I started rapping on the window and after a while two West German border guards opened the door for me. They had my expulsion order in their possession.

The SSD had given it to the sleeping car conductor before the train left in lieu of my identity papers which they had taken away from me earlier. The piece of paper had a stamp on it which read "one-time exit visa valid until 7 am, 8 June 83." It also said "tax-free"—like a shipping document for a piece of goods.

Here I had gone just a few kilometers and landed on a different planet. You see all the cars, the stores and the show windows and you hear people talking in this Bavarian dialect and you say to yourself 'there is something wrong. What business do I have being here?'

That was what depressed me so. I really hadn't wanted to go to the West and here I was on the frontier. Now if somebody waits for years to get a visa and he finally makes it, then he feels he is in paradise. All his thoughts and dreams had focused on it all along. But in my case it was nothing but a sudden feeling of loneliness and emptiness.

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For the SSD in Jena I was an old customer. Throughout the time they kept me in prison from last September until the end of February for alleged "disrespect of state symbols" they worked on me at the Gera district jail, trying to get me to submit a petition for an exit visa. Giving in to this pressure, I signed a piece of paper while still in prison—it was not a formal request—which said that I agreed to leave the country. As soon as I was out I revoked it because I had not signed of my own free will.

There are people who would pay a fortune to get a visa. I was offered one more than once on a silver platter after my release from prison and I turned it down. That made me feel incredibly strong.

Along with the other members of our "Jena Peace Community" who wanted to leave the country prior to the holidays, I received a letter from the interior department of the Jena district administration shortly before Whitsuntide. They told us we should be out of the country by the Thursday prior to the holidays. Like all the other attempts to make me leave, I disregarded and immediately tore up this particular letter.

When I did not respond, the SSD went looking for me all over town. They found me in the bathtub at my mother's and took me to the interior department.

There I was told what formalities I would have to complete in order to leave the country but I didn't even listen to them. That is when they really got mad and one of them said: "You are leaving whether you want to or not." That was on the Wednesday before the holidays.

Over the weekend, I enjoyed some peace and quiet for the first time because I went off to Potsdam to the main Whitsun meeting of the FDJ where Erich Honecker, the chairman of the council of state, was supposed to speak among others.

My friends and I had already demonstrated at the FDJ meeting in Jena on 19 May. There were not all that many of us any more because about 10 people had already left for West Berlin before Whitsun. For this very reason I felt that something ought to be done at the main meeting in Potsdam.

The poster that read "swords into ploughshares" I did not make until I got to Berlin. Then I took the S-Bahn to Potsdam and managed to get to the meeting place.

But when I tried to unfurl the sign, they grabbed me and hit me across the mouth a couple of times. "Get that drunken swine out of here," some elderly gentlemen wearing FDJ shirts shouted. Then they took me to a school where some other peace lovers took over.

They wanted to interrogate me there—to which my response was: all right, I have an hour's time. We can spend that talking about peace, if you like but after that I will have to leave because I have some important things to do. If you want to know anything else, don't hesitate to place a call to Jena. They know everything about me there.

Lo and behold, after they held me for 18 hours a car from the Jena SSD arrived and took me back home.

The SSD type told me I was not to leave the district but only a few hours later I was back in Berlin where I had a really urgent session with my lawyer.

At 8 am on 24 May—which was the Tuesday after Whitsun—the doorbell rang. Department head Bock and his colleague Jaenecke, who were working on my case, came running up the stairs. They asked me to come with them or else the police would come and get me.

I was just wearing my pajama pants and standing there in front of him I merely said: "Mr Bock, you may go now." That gave me a tremendous satisfaction; to cut that man down to size. Every Tuesday, he has 40 people waiting in front of his door wanting to know how their application for an exit visa is coming along and whether he will soon get around to it and here I was simply telling Bock to take his business elsewhere.

The story made the rounds in Jena and everybody just laughed and laughed about that cynic Bock, that powerful chief functionary who takes people apart and interrogates them for hours about why they want to leave.

Things were quiet; but from then on I wasn't going to push my luck. To be on the safe side, I spent very little time at home.

I was not afraid because I simply could not see them using force. "After all," I told myself, "you are not a Biermann type of guy."

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Mine is a typical GDR family—petty bourgeois but honest. We did not speak about politics at home. We kept our distance. My father worked his way up at Zeiss—first as a technical draftsman, then as a designer and finally as a scientific specialist. Because money was kind of tight in the beginning my mother had to work, too, as a bookkeeper.

My father was a soccer functionary for "FC Carl Zeiss Jena" and I worked with him on that. I spent a lot of time on it—particularly when I started getting into sports professionally. I began at age 10 and by the time I was 18 I was playing in the junior league. I enjoyed that a lot and I got around a lot; there were tournaments and games away from home.

But the most important thing was that I had the feeling I was a member of a collective. I was committed to something; there was substance to my life, even if it was somewhat one-sided. But I didn't find that out until later. I simply had the feeling I was part of a group and that is what counted. Politics didn't mean a thing to me at that time.

But at some point playing soccer began to be a drag. At first, I had training sessions once a week; then three times and in the end it was five times. And at that time I also attended Johannes R Becher secondary school. So this is the way my day looked: mornings I went to school; in the afternoon I had the training sessions. Then I went to the sauna and after that I had to do my homework. There was no room left for anything else.

Even then I had the reputation of being a troublemaker. In my fourth year, the teacher said the following under the heading of remarks on my report card: "He tends to take an opposing point of view." And later, there was this notation: "He should make an effort to adopt a more positive attitude toward school." Now I never really was a problem child; but I do have a hard head, I must admit.

I turned political by rather slow stages. In the late sixties, an order came out at our school forbidding us from wearing our hair long. When that happened, I went to Berlin and lodged a complaint at the ministry for public education. I was not turned away and that was something of a revelation for me. I discovered that one is not entirely powerless.

But at the same time I tried to accept what was good about socialism because I simply could not imagine living in anything but a socialist country.

At that age—in our seventh, eighth and ninth year—most of us began to see through the black-and-white type of instruction we had been subjected to over the years. It was in these little things like hair styles, clothes or music—bands like "Puhdys" or "Ton, Steine, Scherben" were practically out as far as our teachers were concerned—that you could tell the difference between those who adapted and those who did not; between those who kept their mouth shut and went on to graduate in peace and those who were not prepared to swallow everything. The most serious break for me as a youngster came during my military service which I spent as a member of the KVP. That is when I started thinking about war and the military. Before I went in I had no idea that you could refuse to bear arms and join the engineer corps instead. I also thought I wanted to go to a university because I felt one would have to make compromises, if one wants to get somewhere. Nowadays, I look at things a little differently. I think one really has to take care that one does not compromise too much as one makes one's way through the various institutions.

In 1972—I was just about 19 at the time—I did my military service in Rudolstadt in the Gera district. So, if there had been any unrest in Jena, I would have had to help put it down.

There were regular rehearsals on how to deal with such unrest. In the neighborhood of Jena, we were trained in how to put down student demonstrations. During such a training exercise we took position along the roads leading out of town and it was our job to pursue the "troublemakers" who had taken refuge in the Jena hills. Those who resisted, we had to corral, subdue them with the aid of water cannon and take them away.

When I think back on it today, it makes me laugh because I now know that the students would be least likely to cause trouble.

Because I was taking part in these exercises as a simple soldier and not as a policeman I asked myself of course 'what would you do, if it really happened?' I knew perfectly well what I would do: I would either call in sick and drop into a dead faint on the spot because that simply was something that I wanted no part of.

We called our officers "the red SA." You just had to look at them standing there with the leather strap across their shirts and their jodhpurs—they were like images from the past. They looked like Nazi thugs in the movies making war on the communists and other antifascists.

Still, I did not turn into a radical pacifist and I am not one today. Some of my friends could not understand that. I don't reject the idea of arms entirely. I know for example that there might be situations where I would take up arms but what would I do with a weapon against my own people?

After 1½ years of military service and a temporary job working in a sports stadium I began studying economics at the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena in the fall of 1975. Since I am pretty good in mathematics, I did not find the courses too hard. I can also speak Russian rather well and that, too, is a big help at the university.

I had chosen economics because I now was properly motivated politically.

I began to look for controversy in the form of debate, particularly with economic experts and party functionaries. There were plenty of opportunities for this in political economics, philosophy and also in the history of economic doctrines. The professor responsible for it did not think highly of me. "For my taste, you stand up too much for public opinion," he said on one occasion.

This type of intellectual arrogance is typical for university life in the GDR—the governing attitude being that the people had no business voicing opinions on economic matters in particular because they did not know what they were all about.

Since my private life brought me into frequent contact with the working population, I was particularly disgusted with this attitude. Most of my fellow students, however, had absolutely no contact with working people.

What I liked most was to get together with my old friends from Jena. About four-fifths of the students came from elsewhere and thus had no contacts in town. That is why there was not much of a relationship between the university and the town; there was no glow coming from the university and the student body was as well-behaved as you please.

That was apparent for example at the time of the Volkskammer election in 1976. We all had to cast our ballot at the university although normally one is supposed to vote at one's place of residence. They had put up voting booths; but nobody used them. Anyone going into the booth was suspect. I went into one and crossed out all the names on the ballot. Then I threw the sealed envelope into the ballot box.

After the election, the university administration asked my professors to evaluate me. That was a warning signal.

In Jena, as in other towns, a kind of scene had developed by this time. Now scene happens to be an expression I don't like because we took it over from the West. Suffice it to say, there were some people that no longer felt like playing along. There were some who tried to drop out and others who wanted to join the system and try to reform it from the inside. I was one of the latter.

Circles of friends started forming. At first they were not even politically motivated but merely aimed at trying to develop alternatives. We got together in apartments; we mounted private exhibits and gave parties. It was all very much intertwined. Sibylle Havemann, Robert Havemann's daughter, was a student at Jena; Wolf Biermann and singer-songwriter Bettina Wegner often joined us. Some of the groups were strictly for entertainment because there is not much doing in a provincial town like Jena.

The poetry circle that gathered around Lutz Rathenow and Juergen Fuchs, a friend of Biermann's and Havemann's, was particularly active. Because of the political position they took at the university and because of their private readings which were attended by 30 or 40 people in one apartment or another at times they were thrown out of the university. That shook all of us up, of course.

Then in 1976, the Biermann affair broke and they took his citizenship away from him. For many of us, he was a symbolic figure, an idol. We protested. Following that, seven or eight young people—all of them members of a very active reading circle—were arrested and thrown out of the country along with Fuchs in the summer of 1977 without a trial.

The party made a fatal mistake then. It was then that the Jena-West Berlin axis came into being which subsequently assumed great importance for the peace movement. By revoking people's citizenship, the SED itself created a public without which the alternative peace movement in Jena could never grown as big as it did.

There were other consequences the deportation had. For many of those who refused to play the game at Jena it was a depressing event. There were two fractions that grew out of this. One group said 'what business do I have staying here ? I'll take off, too.' They applied for exit visas. And the other group were the perennial holdouts who said "now we will really hang on."

As for myself, I felt that one has to change things in the place one calls home. If something rubbed me the wrong way, I always did have a hard time keeping my mouth shut about it.

That is why I said something about the deportation business in one of my seminars in 1976. Some of my fellow students warned me. Biermann is taboo, they said. Watch your step or else they will get you.

Well, one of my fellow students actually went so far as to make a secret transcript of my remarks in support of Biermann. I had only said that I thought it was totally wrong to take his citizenship away from him and criticized the reports that had appeared in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND which had grossly distorted the story.

In January 1977, an expulsion hearing was held. It was said that I maintained contact to the "Jena underworld." The FDJ proposed that I be expelled. The fellow members of my seminar were to vote on the proposal. 13 voted for expulsion with one against. It was not until later that I learned that the university administration had spoken with the other members of my seminar individually, telling them: 'you don't want the Western newspapers to say that a Jena university student was expelled contrary to the wishes of his fellow students; you don't want to give them a chance to vilify us, do you ?'

I then obtained a copy of the disciplinary statutes and found that my expulsion was illegal.

The fact was that there should have been a disciplinary hearing but since that had not taken place, I simply reappeared at the university as if nothing had happened. That was an entirely new experience for them. Up to then, they had gotten rid of hundreds of students in this way without anything ever happening. And so, in the end, they did adhere to the proper procedure and I got thrown out of the university in the proper bureaucratic way.

If I did a good job in industry, the chairman of the disciplinary committee told me in conclusion, I could apply for admission to the university one more time.

Jobs were not easy to come by at that time. So I said to myself I might as well try to get one as a transport worker. One does not need much experience; one gets around a lot and finds out a lot, too. That worked out well for me, too. I worked in a department at Zeiss where they transport heavy machinery.

In the early seventies, there were many apprentices coming to Jena from out of town. That really did a lot for the youth scene. These people from outside took up with our groups and in that way we, too, got some new ideas.

Many of those who could no longer stand it at big companies like Zeiss or Jenapharm started looking for alternative life styles. We thought of one another as a solidarity community and some people even started living together—which was rather unusual for the GDR.

You just went to somebody's house and rang the bell. You went inside and sat down and joined people for dinner, if that's how it turned out. There was no need to call ahead of time; the doors were always open.

Some of my friends looked for typical dropout-type jobs which were not hard to find in the late seventies. A few of them worked for the church as cemetery groundkeepers; one became a postman and got off early in the afternoon and still another fellow became a transport worker, like me.

Of course there were some who felt attracted to alternative groups of this kind who did not want to work at all. Later on, this did cause some problems especially in the peace community because the authorities tried to link us to people like that in order to blacken the name of the peace movement. They called them a bunch of criminals and shirkers. The way we communicated among ourselves was something like this. Most mornings, we would meet at 9 in the university cafeteria during the breakfast break. At that time, we also began putting together portfolios of art works which were then passed around as mini-exhibits of artists who could not exhibit their work publicly. Initially, we thought of calling the portfolios "Jena Imprints." But that seemed a bit too hot to handle to some. That is the way artists are—a bit on the chickenhearted side.

We also began turning out post cards around that time with motifs and legends on them that had a double meaning. We sent them all around the republic—by mail, with regular stamps on them and everything. Some of the cards we sent to prominent people—like Hermann Kant of the writers' union. Groups in other cities also sent out cards of this sort; it became something of a minor art industry in fact. In most cases, we used very simple means and turned out a small number of the cards. But it was an important medium because we were not allowed to put up any posters or print newsletters. What we managed to show in this way was that we were around, even if we could not be seen.

These days, a post card action like that is no longer possible. Some of our people who work for the postal service have heard of postal workers having instructions to hold back bulk mailings of post cards with particular motifs on them and to turn them over to the SSD.

In effect, these were just modest outbreaks of individualism; but in the GDR even these can cause people a lot of grief.

One day, some of us staged a kind of happening in the inner city of Jena. They had put a funny kind of figure on a cart and were pulling it around. They wanted to mock the small town philistines. I told them that would not even cause a ripple. It was almost carnival time anyway. A thing like that has to be staged on two days out of the year: on election day and on 1 May.

So, on 1 May 1982 I staged a happening of my own. I painted the left side of my face brown and the right side green and on one side, I had a Hitler haircut and mustache and on the other, I wore my hair like Stalin and had his kind of mustache on. I had put on a red tie, a plaid jacket and an old pair of grey pants—to call attention to the contrast. Attired in this manner, I sat down next to the party hierarchy on the reviewing stand that all the masses that had been ordered out had to pass and wave to.

Some of the people from my plant recognized and asked me what it was all about. I had to be careful and so I merely said: "Maybe I was something like a mirror. And besides, people should really think about who it is they wave to." I felt that everyone can go around looking the way he wants to; that there is no law against that. I went around all day dressed and made up like that. I went into some pubs and sat down, getting involved in some interesting discussions. Of course, in a few instances people cursed me; but most others were just kind of perplexed.

I was looking for ways to draw attention to things that bothered me but without breaking the law right off. I should point out, however, that it is much easier to stick out in the GDR than elsewhere, if one does not adopt a conformist attitude toward society.

My experiences with the Polish flag showed me that very clearly. I was impressed by the "Solidarity" movement the Polish workers had started. So I bought myself a small, white-and-red Polish flag for 8 pfennigs and stuck it on my bicycle.

I would go from one place to another inside the plant on my bicycle quite often and so it was only natural that I would get involved in discussions about Poland, about solidarity and about strikes. Pretty soon, my fellow workers called me "Solidarnosc" almost exclusively. But the conversations I had were quite depressing and the response from the workers was typically German. "It would be a lot better, if the Poles really started working in earnest instead," they said.

When martial law was proclaimed in Poland I wrote on my flag in Polish: "solidarity with the Polish people" which in fact had been one of the party slogans in the GDR for years. But that was more than the government was willing to tolerate. On 1 September, as I was riding through Jena with the flag on my bicycle again, I was arrested and detained pending trial. And then they staged an absurd trial.

[27 Jun 83, pp 68-69, 72-77]

[Text] There was a reaction to peace activist Roland Jahn's report on his expulsion from the GDR in last week's DER SPIEGEL. Last Tuesday, the foreign ministry in East Berlin made public a document of Jahn's in which he asked to be relieved of his GDR citizenship—while in prison in Gera. In the second part of his taped statement the transport worker tells how he was made to write that application and how pressure from above led to the establishment of the Jena peace community.

On 1 September 1982, I was arrested on my way to work in the morning because they caught me with my Polish flag on my bicycle. They took me to the SSD in Gera and when I got there, they said with a sneer: "Well, this time we got you, didn't we?"

It was clear to me that they had not just arrested me because of that flag. Alleged "disrespect for state symbols"—that was not enough to put me in prison. At least that is what I thought at the time. At any rate, my time of detention pending trial at Gera lasted a full 5 months. I had become a thorn in their sides and they wanted to take me out of circulation.

The idea was to show all those in Jena who were making trouble who was boss. The real target was the peace movement.

They had already driven a lot of people to the West by discriminating against them and intimidating them. If that did not work, they put them in prison and made them sign an application for an exit visa.

I did not want to make it that easy for these gentlemen and that is why I refused to testify on anything of substance. Throughout the time they held me in prison they kept at me so that I finally suggested to them they should get themselves a rubber stamp saying 'testimony refused.'

As time went by, the interrogations became more subtle. They would tell me in an aside that I would not see my 3 year-old daughter Lina again until she entered school, if I did not cooperate. On other occasions, they would drag my friend Frank Rub into the affair. They had had their eye on him for some time but he was still running around loose on the outside. "What do you think his wife will say, if we arrest him? He doesn't have just one child as you do, but three. We'll take care of him good—and it will be your fault. Is that what you want?" They went on and on like that. That kind of thing really does soften you up.

In situations like these you are beset by doubts. Perhaps you should really start talking. Perhaps they will really pick the others up. And you begin to ask yourself whether you are really dragging in your friends by behaving the way you do and that there is no way of justifying it any longer. But the truth is you have to stick it out because whether you tell them anything or you don't, if they really want to pick those others up, they will.

We called the chief interrogator at Gera "Smiley" because he tried to cover up everything, including his own weaknesses, by smiling. I told that man one time he should think about me for 5 minutes before falling asleep. He should ask himself what he was doing and whether he could justify any of it in front of his children—because one day I would get out and there would be a lot to tell. And at some point his children would find out and ask 'what did you do then; what was it all about" and then he would not be able to look his children in the eye.

And that was one time when Smiley did not have a smile on his face for a brief moment. Somehow I had a need for such moments of personal triumph just in order to hold out because all throughout this time I was kept in solitary confinement.

While I was being detained I refused to wear prison garb because there are no regulations requiring it. So, I was the only one there in civilian clothes, wearing a frayed pair of jeans. Later on, some of these things seem pretty silly but while you are in there it makes a difference. You tell yourself that they have not ground you down entirely. You still have something left of your self-esteem. If you don't, you go under—and very quickly at that.

Up to then I knew that my friends were around; that I was not alone. But then they delivered the decisive blow. At one of the interrogations, they really let me have it. "Mr Jahn," they said, "we have now drawn the line in Jena. We have arrested your friends and they will all leave for the West some time. You are alone." And then they said: "What do you think your future will be like. There is no future for you."

But that was not the climactic point. An absurd theater piece followed soon afterward. On 23 December 1982, I was finally given a copy of the indictment. One day later, I was permitted to speak with my lawyer for the first time, a Mr Volkmann who was to defend me as an associate of Dr Vogel, a lawyer who is also known in the West. But I soon realized that he was playing along with the SSD.

As a consequence, I opted for Dr Schnur, a lawyer from Ruegen—a man for whom the GDR judicial system has little use. There are only a handful of lawyers in the GDR who care to handle an unattractive case such as mine. It is not good for their career.

Schnur gave a brilliant speech in court even though he did not have an easy time of it because I was intent on turning the trial into a farce.

One of the charges was that I had violated paragraph 220—"public defamation of the state order."

The reason for this was that I had made up my face on 1 May 1982. There were some who thought I looked like Hitler on the left side of my face and like Stalin on the right side—and that is how I ran all through the town. Now, shortly before the trial, the authorities thought I might be up to something because I had refused to shave off my mustache. One day, they got me out of my cell and transferred me to one without light and then they said 'Mr Jahn, now you are going to shave it off.'

But there was no regulation that said I had to. I just shook my head. At that point, six or seven men came busting into the cell and grabbed me. Of course I tried to wriggle out of their grasp. One of them caught me from behind and cut off my supply of air. I was out like a light and when I came to the mustache was gone.

That business really shook me up; I was depressed all day. They had used force for the first time merely for the purpose of obfuscating the absurdity of the indictment. I now realized that they were prepared to do just about anything.

But then they fouled things up after all. I had written to my mother that I wanted to be properly dressed at the trial and that she should send me my plaid jacket, my red tie and the grey trousers—which was the very outfit I had worn on 1 May all over town and because of which I was now going to be sentenced. The clothes were handed over to me without a word.

The trial began on 17 January. I was told later that RIAS carried a report on the opening of the trial. The authorities in Gera apparently expected that there would be disturbances. It was said to be a public trial but no one except members of the SSD were permitted in the courtroom—neither my girl friend, nor my mother or any of my acquaintances.

Everybody was pretty nervous and it was not until I was in the courtroom that they noticed that I looked exactly as I had on 1 May 1982. The only difference was that I no longer had the mustache.

When the presiding judge reproached me for my appearance I said I did not think there was anything to object to. On the left side of my face, I said, I resembled Charlie Chaplin and on the right side I looked like Maxim Gorki.

For the Chaplin/Gorki business and for riding around on my bicycle with a Polish flag on it (which said in Polish: solidarity with the Polish people) I was sentenced to 1 year and 10 months in prison in the name of the people.

That really did it. Now they had me where they had wanted to have me all along. On 19 January 1983, while still in prison, I agreed to go to the West. I wrote on a piece of paper that I had come to the conclusion "that the conditions necessary for the development of my personality do not obtain in the GDR given my ideas on the realization of socialism. For this reason, I ask of my own free will to be relieved of my GDR citizenship and to be permitted to go to West Berlin."

Later, after I got out, I went to the interior department in Jena and told them that piece of paper was null and void as far as I was concerned. Because I had written it under psychological pressure it was not legally binding and for that reason I did not think it necessary to revoke it in writing.

The authorities indirectly admitted how ridiculous my sentence and what followed was just one month later. They released me from prison for good behavior.

The unexpected release gave me new hope. You can continue working away right here, I said to myself. You just have to be persistent. I can well remember writing to a friend of mine then: "there are limits to any power structure."

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To understand what happened since then, I have to go back in time a bit. Our circle of friends, like many others, had been discussing the peace issue all along. We did not feel threatened by militarism and war alone but also by state violence and abuse of power.

We felt this very acutely when Matthias Domaschk met his death. On 10 April 1981, they had taken Domaschk—whom we called Matz—off the train to Berlin at Jueterbog—for maintaining contacts hostile to the state, they said. On 12 April, Domaschk was dead. The SSD said he hanged himself in his cell using his own shirt as a noose. None of us really believed that Matz had hanged himself.

Like a lot of us, Matz was a member of the "Young Congregation" in Jena which was very much involved in the peace debate. Matz was not the martyr type. Least of all, he himself would have said he was. But we realized that the same thing could also happen to any one of us. That is why his death assumed a special importance for us.

On the first anniversary of his death in April 1982, I took out an advertisement in the SED newspaper VOLKSWACHT and in the THUERINGISCHE LANDESZEITUNG which said: "In memory of our friend Matthias Domaschk who was torn out of life at the age of 24." I signed it: "By his friends." I consciously drew up the text to have a double meaning; but most people in Jena knew what it meant anyway.

On the night of 11 April, I ran all over town and pasted the text of the Domaschk death announcement on billboards, walls of houses and bus stops and on every lamppost in the inner city. Next morning at 10 am, the SSD started scraping the notices off and wherever they did people started to congregate and at the nearest lamppost people made sure they read what it said.

On the Saturday before Easter, my friends had put up a piece of sculpture by Michael Blumhagen, who also belonged to our circle, at the Johannis cemetery. It was a seated figure looking for protection in the face of some sort of threat. The base was inscribed with Matz's name and the dates of his birth and death. The stone was meant to be a symbol so that people from out of town could also come by and leave some flowers there.

On Easter Monday, some SSD men showed up at the cemetery to have a look. But they did not feel like carting the sculpture away themselves because that would have caused too much of a stir. So, they got after the church.

One evening, shortly before sundown, four men lifted the 200-kilogramm sculpture onto the trailer of a blue Lada and took it away. What they did not know was that they were being watched. I was standing behind the window of the Catholic old age home next to the cemetery and took a picture of the sculpture being removed. Somebody got the pictures to the West and DER SPIEGEL published them.

Naturally, there were repercussions. Many members of our circle were haled before the SSD. At one of these interrogations, one of the interrogators said something I have not forgotten since. "You are like poison. Poison needs to be kept in a poison cabinet, which has to be locked securely."

In June, Michael Blumhagen, who did the sculpture, was taken by surprise in that he had to go on a reserve exercise on short notice. That was no accident of course. As he had done earlier, he refused to bear arms and was given a 6-month prison term for that. For reservists, there is no such thing as substitute service. The military itself is used as an instrument with which to discipline people.

That they were intent on doing away with the "poison" once and for all became evident soon after they arrested Michael.

Five kilometers outside of Jena, there was an old farmhouse in which Blumhagen had been living for more than 5 years. The owner had let him use it. We would meet out there frequently on the weekend. We threw parties and had small exhibits and made an attempt to lead some sort of alternative life as long as we could. But even this was a hotbed of counterrevolution in the eyes of the SSD.

One month after they arrested Michael they decided to fumigate the nest once and for all. The surveyor's office said the building presented a hazard and condemned it. It took days for them to tear it down because it turned out to be the toughest house in town.

The following spring, prior to the second anniversary of Matz's death, they wanted to intimidate us ahead of time. They told us that they would consider any sort of ceremony at Matz's gravesite as a demonstration hostile to the state. Nonetheless, we assembled at 4.30 in the afternoon at the Johannis Gate in the center of town.

There were about 50 of us. We were carrying bouquets of flowers and a wreath with the legend "to our unforgotten friend Matthias Domaschk" on it and had formed a funeral procession.

Many people were just coming home from work and they saw what was happening. There were no crowds and no discussions. Jena simply took note of us.

The Western media—radio and TV primarily—carried brief reports on these and other actions. In this way, we also reached the home audience in the GDR with our message. People were now also taking note of us outside of Jena and the SSD had to start figuring on when to strike.

In a way, it was also a kind of insurance policy for us; but on the other hand we turned into even more of a threat in the eyes of many a GDR boss.

Of course we had second thoughts. There was a lot of propaganda being made against the GDR in the West and all sorts of things were being used for their purposes. But I said to myself 'why should we seal ourselves off.' If we wanted to do that, we might just as well retire to a farm and start feeding our chickens. We wanted to be in the midst of society so that the population of Jena would find out what was going on and that people were thinking things over.

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At this point I should turn to how the Jena scene—as it is called nowadays especially in the West—developed.

We had been looking for communal experiences on two levels in particular. We would either meet in small groups at someone's apartment or we threw parties or went hiking or conducted readings with up to 100 people taking part on some occasions. Some of these events also took place under the aegis of the church.

There was a sort of word-of-mouth network telling people what was happening where and when and then one would just go there or drive there and meet with people who thought as one did oneself.

In Jena, church events were something of a problem. Officially, public youth activities in which everyone was free to participate took place under the aegis of the "Young Congregation" which I always looked upon as a kind of forum where one could engage in an exchange of opinions and experiences.

The trouble was that the superintendent responsible for all the Jena congregations exercised control over these "Youth Congregation" evenings. He always wanted to know ahead of time what we were going to talk about. The lectures were subject to censorship to all intents and purposes. A church service to commemorate the 37th anniversary of the bombing attack on Jena was turned down out of hand.

I myself never really was part of a church but I did go to the workshops which were evenings that included song recitals and there were exhibits and discussions and often they would hang up photographs or poems on the walls. In Jena, the youth priest would come around sometimes and point to this or that poem and say 'that has got to come down.'

The church leadership was worried about getting into trouble. "We are not a mouthpiece," they said. "We do not wish to be used as a platform for political goals." After that, a lot of people turned their backs on the Young Congregation and got together outside the churches. There was a group, for example, that got together to discuss military affairs.

Quite a few of us had problems with our military service and in this group we could try and find ways of resolving them—which does not mean that we turned into conscientious objectors entirely.

One important thing was to find out all one could about substitute military service in the corps of engineers. Or we would look into the question of what was to be done about someone who needed to defer his service for family reasons. These are questions one cannot get answered just anywhere in GDR. One has to take matters into one's own hands.

This group was the one that first thought of having a minute of silence on 1 November 1982. I was in prison at the time so I only know about the event second-hand.

About five in the afternoon, about 70 young people assembled on the main square in Jena—it is called Cosmonaut Square now. They just stood there with their faces turned toward the public, carrying placards with the word "peace" on them and did not say a word. It was merely an invitation to think but even that was more than the state authorities were prepared to tolerate.

Soon, conversations with passersby ensued and small discussion groups were forming. Neither the police, nor the SSD realized what was happening. The whole thing had been staged on short notice.

It was an important date for us. It was the first time that the Jena peace movement went public outside a church.

When the second minute of silence was held on 24 December—I could not take part in that, either—things did not go so smoothly. The police had gotten wind of it ahead of time and placed some of our group in protective custody.

Hundreds of members of the alert police sealed the town off on Christmas Eve and no one from out of town was allowed to come in. Some of the ones who live in the inner city managed to get to the main square anyway but plainclothes SSD men pushed them away.

Try and picture it: a huge square where no one person is in anyone else's way but people are pushed around and yelled at: "what business do you have here? Get out of here." They even blocked off the access roads to Jena because they thought there would be a really big demonstration.

With that show of force the authorities had caused a lot of unnecessary excitement once again and made for even greater cohesion among the members of the Jena peace community. The more pressure the SSD exerted, thinking that every activity was tantamount to treason, the closer knit the various disparate circles of friends became.

The Thuringian Land church went the opposite way. It kept its distance. The first thing was that the church disassociated itself publicly from the minute of silence at Christmas. In a church press handout to Western correspondents accredited to the GDR, the church said it had had nothing to do with the 24 December demonstration and that the correspondents themselves should take with a grain of salt what they were told by former residents of Jena now living in West Berlin. Now that did not make for closer ties between us and the churchmen.

And then there was this young man who worked for the Young Congregation who turned out to be an SSD spy. He was about 29—as old as I—and he wasted no time telling the SSD what was being planned. Somebody once said "if you want to make sure that word about something gets around, just go to a meeting of the Young Congregation and mention it there." Although the church knew all about it, it did not take any action. There were some who really took that amiss.

Later on, when about a dozen Jena activists were arrested, the relationship with the local church got even worse.

Throughout the country—in Berlin-Brandenburg or in Mecklenburg—those imprisoned people from Jena were mentioned at the church services—to show that they would not be abandoned to their fate; but not in Thuringia and not in Jena. That was the really macabre thing about it.

The fact that almost all of them were released ahead of time at the end of February was due, I think, to the solidarity practiced by the peace movement. Members of the Greens in the FRG, like Petra Kelly and Gert Bastian, also came out in support of us. The Alternative List in West Berlin even interceded directly with state and party chief Honecker.

In early March, we who had been released from prison and others made an attempt to square things away with the church.

Plans had long existed for a talk with Werner Leich, the Land bishop of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Thuringia. On 1 March we actually met. We told him quite openly that we felt we were in need of protection and that we were asking the church to afford us an opportunity to continue our work.

The bishop turned us down. He had started out by condemning the term "peace circle" which we were using. We could certainly work in the church, he said, but only in ways prescribed by the church. And as for non-Christians, they would not be allowed to play a major role in any event.

2 weeks ago, at an ecumenical forum held at the Evangelical Church conference at Frankfurt/Oder, the church did promise to intercede on my behalf with the state authorities. A spokesman even criticized the fact—albeit couched in extremely diplomatic language—that the circumstances surrounding my expulsion "cast some doubt on its having been a voluntary act."

Many of us broke with the Thuringian church because it was so terribly circumspect and for some it was what finally prompted them to leave the country. We could no longer expect any sort of protection from the church. Somehow, when we were released we lived in hopes that things would be easier from then on and now some of the church leaders were doing their bit to make people throw in the towel and leave. That was rough.

It was then in March that we decided—for self-protection, if for no other reason—to close ranks and to make that plain to the outside as well, we now called ourselves "Jena peace community." That was the unique thing about it—that there was a group of people in the GDR that had joined together and was saying 'here we are, this is what we want' and was going public with its program.

All told, the peace community had about 30 members barely a third of whom came from among the former prisoners.

In order to clarify our stand, we drafted a paper which spelled out our ideas. Our motto was: peace, for us, is not a faraway goal but a real event that could be lived here and now.

We planned our next public demonstration for 18 March. Using the designation "Jena peace community" for the first time, we submitted an official request to the city council and the police for permission to observe a public minute of silence on the 38th anniversary of the bombing of Jena. Our request was refused on the very next day. The reason given was that another event was already scheduled for the 18th. That does not bother us at all, we said. Then we will do it on the 19th. That date, too, was already taken, they replied immediately; there was another event being held in the inner city.

We felt we were being given the run-around. But to keep up appearances, they put up a wall with a memorial plaque in the space of 3 days on the market place—in a very poor location, right between a newsstand and an open-air pub.

The private firm called upon to put it up actually had other work to do; but it had to let that go and put up the wall with the plaque instead. At the foot of this memorial, we were told, a wreath would be laid on the 19th. They hoped to keep us quiet that way.

But we decided to take part in the official event scheduled for the 18th and made several posters of our own for the purpose with legends like "Renounce Violence" and "No Future Without Peace." Others put "Get Militarism Out of Our Lives" and "Don't Buy Military Toys" on their placards.

We started out at the Johannis Gate. It is just about 400 meters from there to the market place. We walked through Johannisstrasse a pedestrian zone with a lot of stores. Our peace community numbered about 30; passersby joined us spontaneously as we walked by.

On the market place about 10,000 people had gathered including any number of hired celebrants from the schools and factories. A cordon of security men started surrounding us in order to separate us from the rest of the crowd. I heard one spectator whispering: "I do hope it all works out."

There were others who said "ah, those are the ones who were in jail" and that is when the pushing and shoving started. We were being pushed around by people who were acting out the part of irate citizens. All of them were employees of the SSD and other state agencies and there were many teachers among them, too. The situation was particularly bad because we had taken our children along and there were only a few people who tried to help us out by trying to give us some protection. The posters were torn out of our hands and smashed. When that happened we ran away.

On the next day, 19 March, we left the children at home. We had ordered a wreath with the lettering on it "Jena peace community" and pasted a piece of cloth on it which read "swords into ploughshares."

With a delegation of 10 or 12 men we marched at the tail end of the official procession to the wreath-laying ceremony at the new memorial. All of a sudden, we were hemmed on all sides by about 50 men. We had no sooner placed our wreath than one of them jumped forward and turned the streamer around so that one could no longer read what was printed on it. I then stepped forward myself and turned it right side out again. It went like that several more times until the streamer was all torn and finally ripped off altogether.

Actually, we just wanted to remain there for one minute of silence but we were immediately pushed away. We therefore waited until the participants in the wreath-laying ceremony had gone and then we assembled once more for our minute of silence. About 100 representatives of the SSD, of the party and the city council stayed behind with us in pouring rain, thinking that we might have something else up our sleeve.

It was a highly charged situation. One of the officials sidled up to us and said: "You crooks, we'll hit you in the mouth."

But instead, we were the ones who forced them to observe that ceremony of silence.

Even the West German Television evening news reported on the events of the 18th in order to put the easter marches in the FRG in a bad light. Unfortunately, the broadcast said that some of us had applied for exit visas. That really got the debate on that issue inside our group going in earnest. It had been smoldering for some time.

Some—church representatives in particular—accused us of making a spectacle of ourselves merely in order to obtain cheap tickets to go to the West. But I knew that all those who were thinking about leaving had no intention of going to the West with flags flying. On the contrary—it marked the end of a long-term expulsion process. After going to prison and after the church turned its back on us, many of us felt we had no future left in the GDR.

Following the big exit from the GDR around Whitsun, there was a real danger that people would join our ranks just for the free ride. On the one hand, we could not restrain them from coming out in support of peace but on the other, we really got mad when we discovered that people attempted to join our group who were intent on getting to the West by any means whatever and would just as soon have come out for a platform that was diametrically opposite to ours. These people were responsible for the fact that the word at Zeiss was: "If you want to get to the West, all you have to do is hold up a poster and off you go."

I was sorry to see someone like singer Peter Kaehler leave because it is particularly important to have people around who are active in a variety of areas and so can speak to as many others as possible.

For example, one of us who was into graphics had made a sign that read "Nuclear-Free Zone" with the "Swords into Plowshares" logo in the center. That sticker made the rounds in Jena; people pasted it up inside their apartment, on their car or on their bicycle.

That was perfectly legal because Honecker himself had come out in favor of the proposal. We distributed the sticker in other towns as well. It was copied and enlarged; in East Berlin, it was even taken to the Red Army barracks.

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At that time, we traveled a good deal, going to Berlin, Dresden and Halle among other places. We took part in exhibits and readings in private homes and presented documentaries on our activities.

These contacts were important for establishing mutual understanding because some of the groups in other cities who had been as active as we in doing alternative work for peace for years—in the community, inside the church or privately among their friends—felt somewhat slighted now that Jena had become something of a symbol. On the one hand, we were admired for having had the courage to go public and on the other hand, we were accused of just putting on a show. Jena never was the nucleus of the peace movement; we had merely discovered new ways of carrying our message to the public.

Of late, even the SSD adapted its style to this. Following the events of 18 and 19 March, it held back visibly. They tried a new tack of seemingly responding to us but only to keep a sharper eye on us.

We were even allowed to attend the Whitsun convocation of the FDJ in Jena on 19 May in a semi-official capacity. Starting at Johannis Gate, we had a large group of SSD men escorting us to the main square. "You are in column five," I was told and then they told us to stand somewhere far to the rear. We said that was fine but went right up to the reviewing stand anyway.

We were welcomed over the loudspeakers and then an FDJ official from the university began railing against our "swords into plowshares" posters. He read off a prepared text. They were ready for us and now wanted to expose us to public ridicule.

"If you people want to have a debate," the speaker said, "then step right up." He did not have to ask me more than once. They passed the microphone to me. It was a fantastic situation. I knew they could take it away from me the next moment so I had to say something dramatic and impressive.

It was then that I remembered a broadcast I had heard on Radio Moscow and I shouted into the microphone: "Swords into plowshares—a dictate for all peoples; that is what Radio Moscow stated at 9 pm on 15 May 1982." And then I just kept repeating official slogans such as "we agree with Erich Honecker's proposal for the renunciation of force" to make it plain that the government slogans and ours are at bottom practically identical.

But when I called out to those assembled "we will not let people forbid us to express our own ideas about peace" they took the microphone away from me. Once again, the limits of the possible had been reached.

Meanwhile, a particularly active group of FDJ members carrying huge signs had surrounded our people with their small placards and banners so that they could no longer be seen at all.

When I stepped off the reviewing stand with my poster, they started pushing and shoving again. They ripped my poster down and I got a few slaps in the face. At that point, my friends came running up and then there was a fist-fight right away. Suddenly, a handful of security men called our attackers off. "You are not supposed to do that," they yelled. "Are you crazy?" The idea apparently was to leave us in peace.

And then something entirely new started to happen. All over the grounds there were debates going on. Many FDJ members were in sympathy with us all of a sudden. We felt that things were in motion. We felt we had won.

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My forcible expulsion on 8 June then was anything but an act of strength. It was the GDR authorities' declaration of bankruptcy—an admission of their helplessness and lack of credibility. I would never have thought that they would expose themselves to even greater ridicule—but they did.

When they cleared my apartment in Jena, they refused to turn over to my parents anything of what was left of value. The reason they gave was that they wanted to auction these items off so as to defray at least part of the expenses they had incurred in connection with the "Jahn affair."

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PROPOSED CHANGES IN STATE ADMINISTRATION DISCUSSED

Warsaw RADA NARODOWA GOSPODARKA ADMINISTRACJA in Polish No 11, 30 May 83 pp 11-13

[Interview with Prof Dr Zygmunt Rybicki, undersecretary of state in the Office of the Council of Ministers, by Antonina Lezenska; data and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In the last 2 years, the functioning of the state administration, including regional administration, became the object of the government's systematic interest as reflected in its numerous decisions and undertakings in this area. To some extent they redefine the place of administration in the state, its status, role and tasks; they will heighten the greater social significance of the state administration's operations...

[Answer] The government must attend to the functioning of the state administration for a natural reason; it is one of the basic instruments of government operations in the country in such important areas as controlling the protection of the public's living conditions and nonmaterial needs, regulating in practice the relationships between the government and citizens or defining the citizen's place in society. The administration also attends to specialized activities such as financial administration; public order; the administration of measurements and quality; maritime, mining and transportation administration and many other areas. All in all, it takes in much although not all of the problems associated with the life of the state, the region of organized activity in practically all areas of the economy and social life. The public has many reservations and criticisms concerning the state administration. I believe there are at least four reasons for this:

--administration operations to date have not been good, and there are many, real shortcomings;

--the currently substantial expansion of its area of jurisdiction and activities that in general has not taken place in other countries, for example, the entire complex of control-distribution operations associated with the distribution of basic food articles, production resources for agriculture and the like;

--the recent difficulties in guaranteeing the country elementary public order and social discipline which are fundamental conditions for the existence of every large system, especially a complicated one like society;

--the impairment by the antisocialist opposition of the system of functioning of our state and statehood in general as an organized form of social life. It is obvious that the anarchizing factors revolve about the state and thus against the administration which, together with its other cells (the forces for law and order, the army), is in the front line of defending statehood and for this reason is under relentless attack and pressure.

I mention this last factor because not all voices critical of the administration are based on noble intentions to improve the administration, on a true evaluation of the factual state, on knowledge of the realities and possibilities; instead they are the result of illwill, which makes it difficult to explain the reasons for specific phenomena and their elimination. I also believe that at times public opinion is characterized by prankish, unfair and harmful alacrity in believing various kinds of burdensome slanders and rumors concerning the administration. This is something of a side issue to complete the picture, but I believe our discussion should delve deeper into the existing shortfalls of administration operations and ways to eliminate them.

One could point out many reasons why our administration does not function as well as it should. In enumerating them, it also should be stated that in past years the political and state authorities did not properly appreciate the role and significance of the administration, its service function vis-a-vis the public, and also the fact that this service must be performed by people who are properly prepared, appropriately equipped, efficiently organized and functioning responsibly. Not enough attention was paid to the administration. It seems to me that the situation has changed in the last 2 years. Not only is the administration the object of the systematic interest of top state and party leaders, but it also is the object of many concrete undertakings for its benefit and of many intensive actions.

[Question] What is the result of these actions?

[Answer] Knowledge about the administration has increased resulting from, among other things, the expanded activities of the controlling cells, including military control. In fact, this brought the requirements regarding the administrative apparatus into much stronger focus, but such is the condition for its modernization; it is a necessity resulting from the reformation of our socioeconomic life. An unequivocal position was also formulated: if the administration is not improved, if its operations are not efficient, competent, consistent and effective, then it will be difficult for the state to realize the tasks it now faces. In short, a good administration is necessary to realize the program proposed by the public and to bring to fruition the values contained in the party's political resolutions and the Sejm's statutes.

[Question] What specific actions will be taken to improve the quality of work of the administrative apparatus? Which of them do you think is the most important?

[Answer] A complete--and it seems a cohesive and realistic--plan of actions has been constructed with the idea of achieving this goal. Implementing the statutes concerning state administrative workers is an especially important

and already realized component element; this means the formation of suitable--primarily personal--conditions for the administration to perform properly its social service. Currently the entire administrative cadre is being reviewed; the people employed in the administration are being evaluated. The mentioned statutes anticipated that during the course of this year all of the over 132,000 employees of the administrative apparatus must be evaluated to determine who should be nominated as a state functionary. Individuals who get through this review with positive results will be nominated, will be included in the basic body of the administrative service. This review will enable us:

--to determine if last year's initial observations and statements in this area were accurate;

--to select people who will be able to execute properly their increasingly important and more responsible tasks and who want to be associated with the administration permanently, and who see it as their future profession;

--to indicate to those who express a willingness to serve but are not yet sufficiently qualified, what they must do to become qualified, and finally;

--to get rid of those people who lack the knowledge or have an improper ethical-professional attitude or have an improper attitude toward work and toward citizens; they should not work in the administration because they will bring it discredit.

Our administration suffers from a visible lack of social prestige, but it itself must earn this prestige, there is no other way. No one can give it to the administration as a present, not even the premier. That is why those individuals who bring discredit to the administration must be let go. At the same time, however, the administration must show more concern about a reliable and concerned cadre by creating proper working conditions for it.

[Question] So far, however, these working conditions for administration employees do not compare favorably in the least with those, for example, of the economic units, particularly at the level of basic conditions, especially wages. Thus, people who are leaving the administration for places that pay better; these are valuable people, often with many years of practical and professional experience. They leave behind positions that remain unfilled.

[Answer] That is true. I am personally aware of departments that do not have the personnel staff for a considerable part of the positions they have. In 1982 alone, over 28,000 people quit the gmina offices. Here it should be remembered that women, having both professional and family obligations, constitute 70 percent of the cadre. It also is true that despite the overall increase in state administration wages (about 47 percent overall during the course of the last 2 years, including about 50 percent at the basic level and about 27 percent at the central level, which attests to the preferences given to wage increases in the territorial administration), wage increases were much greater in other areas of the economy, and wages in the administration continue to lag and be noncompetitive. In the country's current economic

situation, equalizing the remaining disproportions is not easy, but the problem is important and must be considered.

[Question] In this area, the views expressed at times concerning cadre growth in the administration and the possibility of further significant cut-backs to eliminate positions does not seem to be really justified...

[Answer] With regard to this, I have a different and it would appear an unpopular opinion. I maintain that our state administration is smaller and less expensive when compared to the other socialist countries. Poland has 38 state administration employees per 10,000 residents compared to 49 in Czechoslovakia, 61 in Bulgaria and 60 in the USSR. Our maintenance costs are also smaller. For example, in Czechoslovakia it represents 2.21 percent of state budget outlays, 1.5 percent in Hungary, 1.40 percent in Bulgaria, 1.20 percent in Romania, 0.86 percent in the USSR and 0.64 percent in Poland. The fact of the matter is that our administration should be simultaneously good, efficient, effective as well as economical. But there is still much to do in this area.

[Question] In light of the new requirements, what are the traits a state administration employee should have?

[Answer] Above all these are two, and they are both equally important: (1) proper qualifications and knowledge of the job, the lack of which is the primary source of bureaucratization and other weaknesses characterizing our administration, and (2) a high sense of service to the socialist state and to society and a readiness to make sacrifices for this service. The results of the military inspection and the letters and complaints of people sent to the central organs indicate that these traits are still lacking in quite a number of state apparatus employees. This need is especially obvious in contacts between the administration and citizens.

Lately, for example, we tasked students at the Center for the Post-Graduate Training of State Administration Employees (that is professionals, people from the same branch) to pretend to be people with problems to see how these problems would be resolved and how they would be treated at 58 different types of state administration offices and institutions. For over one-half of these participants in this "live" inquiry, contact with the administration was negative, the resolution of their problems was unsatisfactory, and they often were treated rudely.

Then we prepared a more extensive analysis, based on various sources and more opinions, of the style in which administration offices function. We will try to affect a change in this style, in the direction demanded by the public. We anticipate that by disseminating the principles of the Code of Ethics for State Administration Employees, which has already been developed and discussed at one of the last meetings of the Presidium of the Government, will promote this improvement. A second document, which will be found shortly in a visible place in all administration offices, is the list of citizen's rights in an administration office and the civil servant's obligations relative to the citizen.

As an aside, I must add that at times we tend somewhat authoritatively to add a certain amount of complication into the relationships between the administration and the citizen. For example, we announced that the administration must resolve citizen's problems, which as a rule is understood to be an unquestioned duty to confer a decision in accordance with the citizen's proposal. Whereas, the administrative organ should examine the matter thoroughly, make a decision (unfortunately not always in favor of the citizen) and promptly inform the citizen of the decision and the justification for the decision. I believe that we also try unnecessarily to shorten the time limits for resolving problems which is most easily adhered to by issuing a negative decision (which, after all, some civil servants do practice) in order that the problem can be examined more thoroughly after the citizen files an appeal.

Thus, good intentions must be correlated with real possibilities, with the realities of life. To realize this task, the central cells must be knowledgeable. Then we will avoid the unnecessary tensions and irritations between the citizen and the administration.

[Question] It is assumed that the new tasks presented to the state administration and its expanded requirements will be reflected in its training concept and the professional improvement of its cadres.

[Answer] The model for this, treated as a second, important link in the program to improve the functioning of the administration, has been developed already. The new socioeconomic problem is reflected in the assumptions for the training and improvement and is linked with, among other things, the implementation needs uncovered by the military inspection. For example, it included the need for good work organization or knowhow of working with cadres. Thus far proper attention has not been paid to these matters

Meanwhile, foreign specialists assert that unsound work organization wastes up to one-third of all the time devoted to this work. We must try to eliminate this waste, to learn how to plan and organize properly. We also must improve the technique for its execution. Recently the verification of the competence of office operations was introduced at the URM [Office of the Council of Ministers]. It did not turn out successfully for everyone. The requirements for competence of office work will be implemented into the training system for training administration cadres at all levels. We must start at the center so that we will know what constitutes a properly organized ministerial department.

We are planning to include the entire executive cadre of the state administration in the obligatory cyclical improvement.

We also analyzed the preparation given by the secondary technical schools for administration office workers. There are many such schools in the country. But in general they are located in centers having large concentrations of educational facilities; as a result a map of their locations show many gaps. Still, the graduates of these schools are rarely employed in administration offices, more often they end up in units of the socialized economy.

[Question] Undoubtedly, the results and conclusions attained from the inspection of administration operations, especially since the inspection achieved in the past several years are of entirely different ranks, will be an important and practical tool for improving administration offices.

[Answer] Such a rank is a deserved one, and thus it will be an important tool for evaluating and improving administration activities. After all, without inspection there cannot be good work and proper management; verifying the soundness of issued decisions cannot be verified, and the effectiveness of actions taken cannot be verified. The old system of inspection was characterized by a lack of coordination, which limited its practical usefulness. That is why a new model for administration inspection has been created--and this is the third important direction of the undertakings--whose pivot will be the Main Territorial Inspectorate of the MAGTİOS [the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection] using organizational models and military forms of inspection. The UMR will play an important coordinating role.

[Question] Still the administration should also secure working conditions and tools to enable it to execute better its obligations and to operate more efficiently, and thus it is obvious that its goals should be harmonized with state policy, its jurisdictions should be very explicit, and the legal regulations should be clear. In particular the independence of the economic subjects are linked with the reform and the cooperative organizations new quality to its links with the territorial authorities and the territorial authorities with the central authorities.

[Answer] Work on shaping these instruments is continuing, and the new statute on the people's councils and territorial self-government, which is expected impatiently, should be their crowning success. Framing this document is not easy because it must determine many very important and complicated matters, including formulating the system of territorial organs, defining the relations between the central and territorial organs, between the representatives and executive-governing organs, between administration organs and its subordinate units, between that which must be realized universally and uniformly in the state and that which should be executed based on the jurisdiction of the territorial organs. The financial bases of operations of the territorial authorities must also be formed. It would be desirable to give a statutory indication of the constitutional entry that the governor is also the representative of the government in his area. A statute of a constitutional nature makes it necessary to verify the many specific regulations of the material law, which is linked with the need to continue work in the area of setting legal regulations in order. This work awaits us.

[Question] In what way are territorial structures being set in order, in which all changes elicit contradictory opinions, emotions? The creation of the so-called regions, for example, is believed to weaken the gminas. In association with these regions, changes in the territorial divisions of the country is presumed.

[Answer] This setting in order is a requirement of life. The old assumptions that the gminas can service all its citizens in all jurisdictions, even complicated ones such as construction inspection and geodesic problems, turned out to be unrealistic in practice. Regions began to arise as cells of supergmina administration. Many regional organs are not included in the system of territorial organs of the state administration. The example leads us to consider the so-called "competence capacity" of each organ. This means that a state administration organ, and thus also the director, should have a scope of jurisdiction to the limit of its real ability. And we should not give it additional jurisdiction, in contravention to its capabilities or take anything away from it if it has the executive capabilities. If we demand too much of it, we must create conditions to fulfill these expectations or assume from the start that it will not solve all the problems well. Thus existing solutions must be realized.

However, the question remains: Is the tendency to remove jurisdiction from the gminas going too far, and are not the regions being formed a bit too hastily? I wish to raise a similar concern with regard to forming super-voivodship administrative organs excluded from the sphere of voivodship activities. After all, on a national scale there are 60 territorial specialization divisions. Thus, their criteria and essence must be reviewed. The numbers can be rectified and reduced. And certainly their interconnection can be sensibly correlated.

But I am deeply concerned that issuing a general revision of the territorial division would be wrong and would certainly cause more harm than good. I also do not share the opinion given here and there that the 1975 territorial division contributed to our present economic crisis, and brought about the expansion of the bureaucracy. This division, similar to the previous one, has its advantages and disadvantages, its achievements and shortfalls, its fervent supporters (especially in the newly created voivodships) and its resolute opponents. Its efficiency and effectiveness must be examined thoroughly and studiously, and work on such an evaluation is continuing. The possible suggestions for more extensive corrections must be based on realistic, meritorious foundations so that decisions in this regard that may be a bit too hasty, such as some that we implemented in the 1975 reform, would not be replaced by equally hasty decisions.

[Question] A question often brought up by governors, presidents and directors is the need to change the organization structures of t.o.a.p. [territorial organs of state administration] offices, to adapt them better to the new conditions, requirements, and to make them more elastic.

[Answer] The AGTiOS concerns itself with shaping the structure of t.o.a.p. offices. The development of a model for a gmina office is included in the government's program of operations. This is very important. The need to make flexible and to realize the structures applies not only to t.o.a.p. offices but to all administration cells as well as public service units such as the post office and the ZUS [Social Security Agency]. Structures at a specific level must be comparable, and making them flexible cannot mean the breaking up of individual units that in general go hand in hand with the

growth of executive positions. Generally, improving the administration via various types of reorganizations requires great distance and distrust. One must strive for this type of changes after all reserves have been exhausted in improving work and organization and making operations more effective. I support the stabilization of structures because this created habits and gives a feeling of permanence of operations.

[Question] In the last 2 years the new form of state administration work has been widely used in consultation and scientific counseling. There are many such bodies associated with the voivodships and directorships. Are the practical advantages of their appointments equally as great? In what way should this form be developed further?

[Answer] Consulting and counseling bodies are associated with the Sejm, the government and the individual ministries. Some of these bodies are high ranking, such as the National Council on Culture or the State Council for Environmental Protection. Government resolutions exist concerning consultants and expertise activities. Lately, assumptions on the stature concerning social consultations have been developed and thoroughly discussed by the Presidium of the government. They designated the directions and principles of this activity. In general, they should result from realistic needs and possibilities, and it should be organized within realistic limits. An excessive number of consultative bodies is a negation of the true use of this good idea.

Formal consultants, those in positions, can also be a large threat to administration activities, just as the lack of consultants in general. This is why we must appeal to specialists, experts in specific fields, recommending the development and examination of variant expertise which protects us against the so-called "necessary selection" and also the combining of expertise with social consultation which enables the optimum solutions to be selected, solutions that are correct from the scientific and social points of view.

However, regardless of the area of expertise or consultation, the authorities and the administration will always be responsible for the selection, the expert will be responsible for the accepted solution and the decision taken. Nothing and no one releases them from this responsibility.

[Question] Thank you, Mr Minister, for the interview.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Party Indoctrination Required

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26 May 83 p 3

[Article by Ireneusz Leczek: "What Do They Teach in the Party School? The Decisive Role of Consciousness"]

[Text] On the yellowed and worn-out title page of the 80-page school notebook-sized folder, the year 1948 and the title "Special Publication of the Provincial School of the Polish Workers' Party in Katowice" is embossed in boldface type. Pictures from the classes showing the faces of students embellished with bushy whiskers and portraits of women dressed in fashionable clothes of that time, are out of date today. Certain articles describing progress in science in a superoptimistic style create a similar impression. And still, in spite of the swiftly-moving times, which brought many changes in our way of looking at the world, the fundamental contents remain unchanged.

The special publication opens with an article specially written for that publication by the general secretary of the PZPR Central Committee--Wladyslaw Gomulka--who, among other things, stated: "The level of class consciousness of party members plays a deciding role in building a new, better life, and the degree of consciousness and sphere of knowledge of the party's active members from all organizational elements of the party especially occupy a central place. "

Always Needed

The idea W. Gomulka formulated 35 years ago can be useful even today as a guide of the activities of the Interprovincial Party School [MSP] of the PZPR Workers' Party Provincial Committee. Not many documents remain from that period, so all the harder are the tasks of the team of comrades working on a monograph of the MSP. It is known that not only Polish Worker Party members participated in the indoctrination, but also activists of the Polish Socialist Party. Several times, beginning from 1946 all the way up to not long ago, various types of reformers tried to close the school. They were able to bring

this to a break in the school's activity several times. They used arguments such as: Why do we need a party school if there are universities? And still MSP unmistakably shows the necessity of its work. Over 10,000 party activists have gone through its lecture halls.

Presently, three Interprovince Party Schools are active in the country. The school in Bydgoszcz educates active party members connected with agriculture. The school in Lodz specializes in ideological problematics. The Katowice school teaches comrades from cities and large industrial plants. The MSP, located in Katowice on Iwan Koniew Street, carries out three forms of education.

The basic activity is constituted of the 10-week standard courses for full-time workers and active party members. During the school year four courses, each with 130 students, are organized. There are no entrance requirements here. Vocational school graduates sit next to higher education graduates. It is interesting, that almost as a rule, graduates of higher educational institutions shine at the beginning of courses with their broad range of general knowledge, but those with the lowest education do best in the exams. In short, M.A.'s and engineers quickly fall back on their laurels.

Graduates of higher educational institutions--young party workers with a full-time junior position--manage to attend postgraduate studies. They supplement their knowledge through a 5-month course, mainly in the area of the fundamentals of marxism-leninism. In each course 50 comrades are included in this type of indoctrination.

The course program and Postgraduate Studies are brought to realization in the five following problem areas: marxist philosophy and sociology, political economy, social-economic politics, history of the Polish and international workers movement, teachings of the party.

The Consultation Point of the Social Sciences Institute correspondence studies connected with the PZPR Central Committee is active in conjunction with the MSP. For 2 years students, mainly full-time party workers, complete the program of studies in Katowice, and next in Warsaw. Forty students are enrolled each year.

Requirements for the Staff

Speaking about the institution which he directs, the director of the MSP--comrade Dr Roman Grebosz--placed special emphasis on the teaching staff. He stated that the school's work requires a highly qualified, organizational energetic political teaching staff, one which is faithful ideologically and at the same time dedicated to party affairs. Like everything good, that is not easy to fulfill. One of the reasons is the exceptionally narrow academic base within the province in the area of capitalist and socialist political economy, dialectic materialism, and in particular, academic communism. In order to supplement these gaps several comrades undertook doctoral studies in Warsaw and Moscow. Except for persons employed full-time by MSP, also engaged as coworkers are, among others, scholars from the Silesian University and the

Silesian Institute; two professors, five assistant professors and over 10 doctors, which ensures a high level of studies.

Students studying in the Institute of Social Sciences Consultation Point have the prospect of acquiring a higher education. To some extent, that prospect encourages them to automatically exert themselves in learning. However, what do the remaining persons in the course have as an encouragement? Certainly, the most important role is played by their own consciousness, the conviction that if one undertakes something, it should be carried through to the end. Next to that, an excellent mobilizing stimulus is the written test which is given to newcomers. Every course appoints an Executive of the basic party organization [POP], which, among other things, watches discipline.

Lecture topics closest to practice work have the largest appeal among course participants. The school organizes trips for students to leading city and plant committees. During that time they exchange experiences, discuss model plans and their dissemination. The best students establish closer contacts with selected departmental party organizations and prepare party indoctrination lectures for them. Because the school has an interprovincial character, comrades come to it for study from the whole country. For many this is the first direct contact with Silesia and the coal district, which in many regions is considered the "Polish Eldorado." Contact with realities of our area, trips to underground mines and acquired knowledge about the hard work of the miner destroys even the strongest myths.

One does not only study in MSP but one also carries on academic work, in the strictest sense of the word--even if only in a very limited subject area. Among other things, symposiums and conferences for the general public are organized through the participation of various institutions. One of the symposiums was dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Karl Marx's death and the 38th anniversary of the Polish-Soviet treaty. Planned symposiums on the progressive youth movement and the Polish People's Army are ready for presentation. Symposiums of a general character comprise a bridge between specialized scholars and persons with an average theoretical preparation. This brings to mind the publication through one's own efforts of manuscripts for the adaptation of specially difficult Party material.

Teachers and academic workers from befriended party committees in Halle, Ostrawa and Donieck frequently are guests in the MSP. The school also makes use of those Party schools' resources.

Not Only in Lecture Halls

MSP academic employees do not close themselves off with their work inside the school walls. For instance, they gave a series of lectures for supervisors as a result of a request by the founding committees of the Komuna Paryska and Jaworzno mines in Jaworzno. Among other things, the leading and directing role of the PZPR, economic reform, trade unions, and self-government was talked about. That type of activity was greeted with enthusiastic interest by the plant committees. Also, academic school employees are invited to lecture by provincial administrations in Bielsko-Biala, Opole and others.

The costs for the functioning of MSP are covered entirely by party funds. The costs consist of salaries, building costs and costs to support students in the dormitory. However, the expense of financing the school is worth it. A highly educated active body, having knowledge of all spheres of party work, competent in work--the ideological party apparatus--is after all worth a great deal and in an important way influences the level of class consciousness of party members. As I recalled earlier, 35 years ago Wladyslaw Gomułka wrote about this in the introduction to his special school publication....

Party Audit Commission Necessary

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 30 May 83 p 3

[Article by Danuta Kolodziej-Gluchowska: "An Audit Is Helpful"]

[Text] The PZPR statute passed during the Ninth Congress gives party audit commissions broader rights and places greater responsibilities on them. The commissions therefore above all control and evaluate internal party economics, regularity and deadlines for paying dues, the work of institutions directly managed by the party, and the proper and economical administration of the party's assets. The audit commissions took care of these affairs even before this. Presently they are also investigating, on a broad scale, the realization by party organizations and executive organs of the PZPR of binding decisions, and they control the means of dealing with affairs and resolutions proposed to party organizations and institutions.

Those questions were the subject of an analysis carried out lately in elementary and division party organizations, as well as in plant committees in Olsztyn Province. In accordance with the Central Audit Commission's program, provincial and regional commission teams carried out the audit. Some 234 basic party organizations, 27 party division organizations and nine plant committees were evaluated, making up 21.1 percent of total party members in the province.

The auditors called attention to the execution of statute requirements by party members in the full meaning of that word. This, therefore, did not just concern the systematic paying of dues, the correct introduction of party documentation in organizations, attendance at meetings, etc. Those are important elements of organizational discipline, but elements which are more or less external, formal. Considered in isolation from other matters they cannot be a measure of the activeness of party organizations or of certain members. That is why the auditors also evaluated the activity of those organizations in working for the environment, ideological-political work, improving knowledge on the subject of marxist-leninist theory, knowledge of party resolutions and current political, economic and social trends.

Three hundred people participated in the audit--commission members as well as active members. They executed their work for nothing because the audit commission's work is based on social principles. For instance, the Provincial Audit Commission [WKR] elected at the 1981 Provincial Reports-Election Conference, numbers 27 people. It has one full-time worker that carries out documentation and executes essential office functions such as correspondence,

etc. After all, everyone such as members of party administrations, secretaries of basic party organizations or others elected to various functions, similarly executed their party obligations during their free time. That is a great hardship, which is frequently brought up, even more so because of the fact that party activists have a duty to excel in their professional work. In short, more is required of them, not only in party and social work.

In conjunction with the scarcity of full-time party jobs, the level of work and of the activeness of party organizations is dependent to a large degree on party activists and on people carrying out a function by election.

What kind of picture of that activeness did the last audit find?--asked chairman of the WKR, comrade Wlodzimierz Lewicki. Postaudit conclusions were formulated at the plenary session of the WKR, which took place this week. They submitted to the secretary of the Provincial Committee and the committee will make a suitable decision, and will give out a recommendation. What kind of trace did our teams leave behind after the audit, in their investigations of POP and plant committees?

Like every audit, ours also concentrated above all on bringing to light shortcomings and faults in work. The sum of the faults does not give a full picture. It is also necessary to consider positive elements. The faults were brought out into the open in order to eliminate them. We tell those audited straight about shortcomings that were noticed. Every audit is a kind of instruction. We have a friendly, partnerlike relationship with those audited. We clear up doubts. We give advice, for in that situation it is a form of learning. The results of the audit should be discussed at a meeting of the executive or POP. Questions came up about the degree of activeness. It is different in various regions and in various organization. It depends on the authority of the secretary and executive. Not everyone can execute basic elements of party discipline. Here and there, the supervision of the work of POP by basic administrative channels is too slack. Plainly put, more should be required from party members, and above all, from those who agree to fulfill party functions.

Who Should Demand It?

The whole party, everyone together. In the party we are all equal, but when something goes wrong we usually blame the organization's secretary. At the same time, pressure for discipline and activeness should be exerted from two sides--from two directions: from the secretary and executive as well as from individual members at a POP meeting. We say: "The organization is weak because the secretary isn't very energetic." But can't it have another secretary, a better one? Not everyone has the appropriate predisposition. If a given comrade states that he cannot cope with his function, then the sooner he resigns, the better it will be. It also will not count against him if the executive proposes a change of secretary at a meeting.

In this respect, what kind of conclusions result from the audit?

We see such a phenomenon not only during the audit. The administration and secretary are criticized but we require too little from ourselves. Each

person joining the party takes upon himself greater responsibilities as well as a requirement to conform to its discipline. Our statute explicitly defines those responsibilities. We will at least quote its wording: "Every member of the PZPR is required to strengthen the party's authority, present and defend its principles, actively take part in work of the basic party organization as well as execute party tasks." Accountability for that which one undertakes, dependability in executing one's responsibilities--that is essential, not only in the party, but in every activity, be it production or social. Without it no activity has any results. Activeness and conscious, disciplined action is especially needed in the party. The sum of such actions will make the party strong. We must all strive for that--and above all, those who we elected to party organs on various levels.

The audit also encompassed schooling activities.

And it expressed the fact that there is much to be done here. A significant portion of party members included in the POP audit did not participate in education classes during the time of the audit. The course that many classes run brings to mind a series of doubts. They are not very attractive. In order for schooling to fulfill its role, a certain effort is needed from both sides: the students and the teachers. Students should read beforehand selected texts concerning the discussed problem, while on the other hand, teachers should present the topic and lead the discussion in an attractive and in-depth manner. The principle is such that the teacher should know significantly more on a given subject than his students so that he will be prepared overall. The group of teachers on provincial level, not very numerous, must represent a very high level. They instruct those who next will conduct education courses in POP. A party member, who in accordance with the statute has a responsibility to propagate its program line and, if the need arises, defend it, must have a certain amount of knowledge at his disposition. Making use of it--not only at party meetings--attests to the activeness of a party member. Not everyone can be a public speaker, but each one should honorably present the party through his behavior and arguments in discussion. Formation of such attitudes is also one of the aims of party indoctrination.

In thanking comrade Lewicki for the conversation, I will quote a fragment of the postaudit conclusions concerning precisely these matters: "A poll on the acquaintance with party tasks which resulted from the resolution of the Ninth Congress--including economic reforms--requires intensified propaganda and educational work. The problem of indoctrination should concentrate, above all, on the aims of the marxist-leninist party, dissemination of the statute's resolution, as well as initiation of adherence to principles in activity of the POP as well as in the actions of party members."

Other conclusions concern party information, which among other things, should force the "Information Service" unconditionally to reach the party ranks; a requirement for POP to continually evaluate the administration of plants and to derive proper conclusions in the face of party members holding management positions in administrations; systematic conversations with less-active Party members who show deficiencies in the knowledge of basic party goals; training and help for party organizations through the administration in execution of their basic statute requirements.

Party Activities at Railroad Repair Shops

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 1-2 Jun 83 p 5

[Article by Helena Czechowska: "Party Activity in the ZNTK; In Short--More Economical"]

[Text] In the Poznan Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops [ZNTK] people do not complain about the small interest in the shops, because others' achievements were more important--more valued. They know that not everyone is able to understand that the repair of locomotives is something harder perhaps than building a new one. It is necessary to look for the flaw in the mechanism and the final result is not as impressive as when a new locomotive comes off the line.

They therefore accept it in ZNTK that certain matters are attended to there without publicity, without waiting for instructions or programs. That was the way it was with the conservation program. They approached its establishment in the shops without panic or excessive organizational inflation. The effort is the same, and maybe even better than somewhere else.

Folders with the caption: "Shop conservation program," overflowed. I take it into my hands with a certain distrust, because a kind of doubt is hounding me, that maybe this program is too fantastic. However, I see that without any help I force myself through a handful of tables, letters and figures.

Tadeusz Dybus--main specialist for development affairs--comes my help. He talks to the point--only about the most important matters. And then the program begins taking a real shape, because I know, for instance, that piston rings for locomotive engines which up until not long ago were imported from West Germany, are now produced from materials in our country. To this day, thanks to that half a million dollars have been saved. The same is with the pistons for locomotives. The technology was worked out in Krakow. In the future the ZNTK will produce them; however, for the time being there is still no technical possibility to accomplish it. That is, however, a difficult type of production to which one must appropriately prepare oneself.

It is common knowledge, that everything cannot be replaced with our own mechanisms, but it is possible to limit imports through reclamation of parts. Together with Powogaz ZNTK is conducting such a reclamation of Swiss speedometer parts for locomotives.

They want to gain the greatest economy through reduction of fuel use. Yearly the ZNTK uses 3,000 tons. Oils and lubricants are needed actually at each station for cleaning and braking in locomotives. Until not long ago, such used oil or lubricants were simply poured down the drain. Therefore, a new station was worked out and brought into use at which fuel is collected and cleaned. Later they are used as boiler fuel in Franow, which up until now used coal. In the process of breaking in a locomotive after rebuilding the motor, a very expensive engine oil was used. After being broken in, it was

given to the Petroleum Industry Center [CPN] as a used-up product. Now, the oil is cleaned and used again.

Many other very simple solutions are used, which however have sizeable advantages. For instance, all elements of worn-out parts which can be used a second time are unscrewed. Before, they went to the scrapheap.

Or, for instance, the matter of paint conservation. The variety of the rolling stock requires that about 27 types of paint are used. Therefore the storerooms are full of varied packages and cans. Some types are needed more and others less, but all must be stored. Strict regulations for picking up repaired locomotives require that each element be painted its proper color. It was proposed, however, that the number of types of paint used be reduced at least to half, to that degree so that painting a locomotive will not negatively influence riding safety. The approval for all changes in this area, however, must be given by the department management.

Part of the rolling stock works at the so-called shunter stations. There it is subject to various types of external damage; scratches and chipping. Up to now the principle applied was that in spite of a small amount of damage, the whole locomotive had to be painted. In the economy program, touch-ups are done if possible--that is, not to paint the whole locomotive, but only those places that are damaged. Revitalization requirements are maintained and paint is significantly saved.

Special notice is taken of energy conservation. A detailed program has been prepared in that area. Through a change in the technology of testing engines, around 10 percent less energy is used yearly.

I learned about these most important means of economizing through my conversation with the main specialist. There still remained many details--matters of less importance--which were written on many pages of the program.

That is all the program has to offer. Work on it has actually ended. However, it is not either finished or closed. In spite of the fact that it was discussed and accepted by the plenum of the PZPR Shop Committee, we can read in the last part of the resolution: "At the same time the Shop Committee concludes that the shops' management should look over individual conclusions brought up during the discussion on the program and eventually supplement it."

Here it is time to mention a few words about how the program was created. Of course, instructions came "from above." The shop's management did a great deal. Together with the PZPR Shop Committee it was decided that general assumptions of the program will be presented at open party meetings with a recommendation for the shop's possibilities. The discussions will at once allow the program to become concrete. Someone from the direct management of the shop took part at each meeting in an effort to eliminate middlemen. Workers brought up a series of proposals, such as for instance, projects for saving paint, reusing nuts and bolts, the proposal for conservation of fuels. Only later did they begin to work on the technology, and carry out the essential adaptations at the work situation.

Party organizations took part in creation of the shop conservation program from the beginning. Many valuable propositions were brought up at the meetings. The PZPR Shop Committee Plenum prepared and accepted the program. In the plenum's resolution we read about the necessity for action guaranteeing the program's realization. One of the points was the introduction of the principle of quarterly analysis of the conservation program's realization and of currently informing workcrews of their result. The first plenum to evaluate the program's realization was planned for September.

Not without pride, they are saying in the PZPR Shop Committee and ZNTK: "We prepared a program so that when the second supplementary government program came out, we didn't have to change or add anything to ours."

They are of course aware of the threats that may thwart all conservation. The shop is still dependent on imported goods. It is not possible to produce everything oneself. They complain of the lack of rhythm in deliveries. It happens that they tremble through the whole month about executing the work plan and in the last week they "push it." In these conditions there is no way to comply with the rigors imposed by the conservation program.

However, they are still promising themselves a lot after this program. The workcrew is watching very carefully all proceedings. After all, profit decides salaries and bonuses. There is a chance that the blue folder with the caption "Shop conservation program" will not add to the collection of very important documents which frequently are there in order to fill up archives.

12281

CSO: 2600/988

PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Prenational Congress PRON for Common Good

Gdansk GOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 5 Apr 83 p 3

[Article: "Before PRON National Congress. For Common Good"]

[Text] A programs-election campaign in PRON elements continues. Its participants are debating over PRON draft declaration and statute principles, and discussing problems besetting their communities. The movement's nature and objectives were spelled out in a declaration of PZPR, ZSL, SD, PAX, ChSS and PZKS, dated 20 July 1982. The overriding goal is to continue the process of socialist renewal and the line of national accord to win all of the nation's progressive forces for that idea.

PRON is a sociopolitical movement open to all citizens, regardless of differences in worldviews that divide them, provided that they recognize systematic principles of the Polish constitution and regard the nation's wellbeing and supreme good.

The movement's objectives and tasks are commented on by PRON activists from Gdansk Province:

Jerzy Chojnowski, senior specialist for mechanization, Horticulture Institute in Milobadz, vice chairman of PRON Gmina (parish) Council in Tczew:

Unpleasant past experiences are proof that bureaucratized control from the top fails to settle routine problems of the people. I believe that those actions are efficient which originate in grassroots needs and inspiration, and are carried out by genuinely committed social activists. I would not be in PRON if it were otherwise.

Our PRON unit reviewed the extent of authority of the Gmina Office in Tczew early at the outset of its activities so as to gather insights on how to assist the Gmina's residents. We examined in detail the Gmina's problems in welfare, public transportation, environmental protection and we began to solve them.

Together with other PRON activists working in our institute, we assist persons in financial hardship in Milobadz. We enable them to get meals in plant cafeteria and to make repairs in their apartments. In my opinion, this is the simplest way for winning people's trust and convincing them that assistance and friendliness greatly alleviate the current crisis.

Helena Baran, PCK [Polish Red Cross] Town-Board Secretary in Tczew, delegate to PRON provincial convention:

Social activists assembled in PRON elements, attentive to grassroots opinion, are creating an opportunity for national accord. Through our specific activities to benefit Tczew residents locally, we are trying to demonstrate that potential improvement is dependent on all of us. People are becoming less distrustful and more freely address us with their problems during our duty hours. For the most part, those problems are interpersonal in nature or affecting public peace and order. We were recently informed that at Pdmurna Street there were frequent gatherings of young people disrupting public order. Our intervention proved to be effective. I know that Podmurna Street residents appreciate our help.

We want to become familiar with the concerns of most Tczew residents. We will push for accelerated completion of the skating rink built by volunteer effort. We will strive to make sure that there are no more stoppages in housing construction, caused by insufficient heating power supply to new residential areas.

Jan Malinowski, private farmer Kolnik Village, Pszczolki Gmina:

I have noticed that people have a dislike for new structures. They simply regard with distrust that which is new. So I am not surprised to see that some approach PRON with restraint. In my view, PRON's assumptions are correct by all counts.

Prior to the establishment of OKON and PRON elements, our gmina already had an organized social aktiv which handled urgent problems of primary importance for gmina residents.

I volunteered for work in the gmina's PRON youth commission because youth concerns are neglected locally. As I see it, young people are frustrated and lack ideals and prestige models. This may sound too harsh, perhaps young people do have something of value deep inside, however, I am entitled to my opinion by their passivity.

Our preference is for young people to step forth with initiatives of all sorts. Are they shy? Do they lack courage? Perhaps. This is why we PRON activists will take the first step. PRON is the only chance. I feel that we will win the Polish youth over by being active in PRON.

Maria Pocwiardowska, ZHP [Polish Scout Union] troop leader in Sopot:

Young people cannot and must not be missing from the efforts to create national accord to benefit the homeland and all of its citizens. In a few years, those

who are young will become responsible for the way the country is run. They cannot, therefore, be indifferent to what kind of Poland they will be living in. And Poland's future shape depends on current attitudes of young people and on their vigorous participation in public life.

The scouting movement cannot remain on the sidelines of the PRON. ZHP has a long and abundant tradition. Over the years, essential changes have taken place within it, but its fundamental principles remain invariable. A scout's obligation has always been to serve his homeland. ZHP membership was and continues to be raised in this spirit. The ZHP has a fine record reaffirming that the service to fatherland is carried on by scouts. Thousands of boys and girls reported ready for action in response to the 16 December 1981 ZHP scoutmaster's order "Fatherland in Distress." Scouts were coming to the aid of sick, elderly and handicapped people. vigorously participated in a relief action to aid the victims of flooding in Plock. The result of their activity was 30 million zlotys and thousands of packages with clothing collected by scouts.

Thus the PRON program is closely related to the ideals of scouting and will provide for it a fine area for action.

Precongress PRON Vis-a-Vis Schools, Teachers

Lodz GOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 8 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by Krystyna Srokowska, teacher, Medical Secondary School No 3 in Lodz, member of PRON TDR [Provisional City Section Council]: "Prestige of Schools and Teachers"]

[Text] The PRON declaration reaffirms that the movement is spontaneous, open and accessible to every Pole. Even last year, when OKON was being formed in downtown Lodz, it brought together people who wanted to be helpful to others. They frequently handled seemingly trifling issues, e.g. causing accelerated house repairs, yet those issues were of vital importance for persons unable to cope with them.

There were many similar problems that in some instances had dragged on for years, and OKON was specifically the cause of their solution. At this time local administration takes OKON and PRON more seriously.

I am greatly alarmed by our society's casting off moral norms, for which we all--schools, the authorities, and mass media--are responsible. I have numerous opportunities to disseminate PRON ideas among students and parents in the downtown sections' Health and Welfare Commission, in a Residents' Council and in OKON. We feel it is our duty to point out improprieties and eliminate them from our lives.

For instance, abrupt school reforms should be abandoned. Each year, students and teachers alike are taken by surprise by changed formats of high school graduation exams. Those changes are frequently shocking and offered for

implementation with pressing deadlines. In addition, school curricula, written by scholars rather than practitioners, are overloaded. The time has come for a final decision on a specific form of the exam so that it can be made known to students already in the first year of high school.

Schools should play no negligible role in moral renewal. Upbringing activities must therefore be uniform, with no seesaw ups and downs.

I teach physics. Frequently, I have to function as an emergency aide to my friends' children. I help them to do their curriculum-prescribed problems that are over their heads. Let the school system and curricula be adjusted to match student caliber and potential, their future jobs and professions, preparing them better for adult lives.

Incentives must be created, however, for good scholastic performance. Professionals should earn more, and schools should have some influence over students' future job assignments. In my opinion, elimination of college presidents' award for best academic performance is detrimental.

The staffing of managerial positions in schools should be done by contest, as is practiced in the health care sector.

Speaking about rebirth and renewal, it is necessary to search for the origins and to analyze the effects of the current situation in the country. Criticism that points to no way out is nonsensical. We should realize and eliminate the source of evil.

It is of great importance to restore the prestige of schools and the authorities respect of the law, and incentives for honest work and exemplary school performance. PRON's line of action and achievements will be not better and not worse than the people who join PRON.

Today we have an opportunity to improve and alter our lives, so we ought not to stand on the sidelines to have our sons ask their fathers one day: "Where were you at the time?" History teaches us that dialogue and negotiations never lead to a retreat.

Elblag Province PRON Congress

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 8 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] Invited guests included representatives of the province's political and administrative authorities, among them PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary Jerzy Prusiecki and Elblag Governor Col Ryszard Urlinski. The congress was also attended by PRON Provisional National Council vice chairman, Sejm deputy Zdzislaw Pilecki. The session was chaired by Henryk Dombrowiecki.

A reports-program statement was presented by R. Szkolnicki. It was followed by a discussion in which 15 speakers took the floor. Both the statement and the discussion contained assertions the effect that Elbalg Province PRON has become much more representative of society since its first congress. The

number of basic PRON elements has increased. By the end of March, more than 5,000 persons were active in the movement. Involvement of societal organizations in its activities is substantial.

The PRON aktiv has submitted its opinions and initiatives to sessions of the Provincial Commission for Cooperation Between PZPR and Political Parties, gmina, town and province people's councils. Provincial Defense Committee, conferences of PZPR and other political parties, in conventions and meetings of societal organizations and associations. These opinions and initiatives affected many facets of society's life.

PRON's most interesting achievements in the recent period were also presented, and a summary was provided of the pregress reports-programs campaign in the field, with a debate on PRON draft declaration and statute principles. The PRON TWRW sided with the regional conferences' stipulation according to which the declaration to be adopted should emphasize historic importance of the worker and peasant alliance, the significance of democratic electoral law on elections to the Sejm, people's councils, and consultative social institutions. While infringing in no way on the PZPR's leading role and on the importance of the allied ZSL and SD parties, it is necessary to create opportunities for selecting genuinely deserving candidates to be placed on electoral lists. PRON should acquire legitimate influence on the articulation of electoral platforms and lists of candidates to representative bodies.

In regard to societal consultations, emphasis was placed on the need for legislative determination of the substance and scope of consultations and the nature of their applicability. With a guiding sense of responsibility for that state, the nation's future, and prosperous continuation of social development, it was asserted that the consultations must not evolve into a form of pressure on or a dictum to the authorities, or else a compromise forced by society.

A belief was also expressed that special support at the congress should be given to natural environment protection, the Polish nation's historical achievements in material and spiritual culture, traditions of political culture, and unceasing concern with cultural development in every respect.

With regard to statutory premises, the expressed views were that it was necessary to emphasize the principle of the movement's self-control in the financial-economic aspect as well. It was found to be expedient to introduce uniform office terms for all PRON elements and councils, specified for 4 years, with within-term permissible rotation of up to one-third of original personnel requiring no convening of a general meeting, conference or congress of PRON.

The PRON movement, by its very essence open to all those in favor of the development of a socialist Poland, sees its main goal as achieving national consensus, striving to unity in diversity focused on a prosperous future of the nation and its state. Those participating in the discussion attached major importance to entire society's moral rebirth, including those who govern and those governed, since the critical situation in this sphere is undoubtedly the cause of most other crises in the other domains of Poland's societal life.

As stressed during the discussion, the process of socialist renewal includes, within and alongside the PRON framework, other spokesmen for public opinion as trade unions, self-government bodies, and scholarly, technical and specialized organizations. The PRON movement cannot usurp the rights of the party, or of other political parties or groupings.

Other comments of note include references to errors in youth upbringing for which families, schools, and political and social organizations should be made responsible. Concern with educating the new generation should be a guiding beacon for all those who have a sober view of the future and are concerned about further development of their socialist homeland.

During the working part of the convention, the composition of PRON Provincial Council was expanded by the addition of 17 persons due to the movement's numerical growth. Also, an 11-person Provincial Audit Commission was formed. A list of 10 candidates to the First PRON Congress, elected regionally, was approved. Subsequently, the convention selected an additional total of 8 participants to be congress delegates. Moreover, the congress will be attended by 3 delegates from Elblag Province who are members of the Provisional National Council [TRK]

In conclusion of the session, a resolution was adopted, including specific proposals for changes in the draft declaration and statutory principles. At the same time, it was resolved to replace the present label TWRW by the designation PRON Provincial Council.

~~PRON's~~ Role in Dissemination of Culture

PRON's role in the dissemination and development of culture regarded as a platform and factor of national rebirth was topical in yesterday's working session of the PRON TRK team for cultural concerns. The session helped to formulate tasks and topics to be addressed by the team and the movement in its entirety, and to be presented for discussion at the First PRON Congress.

The meeting was attended by TRK PRON chairman Jan Dobraczynski, PZPR CC Cultural Department chief Witold Nawrocki, Minister of Culture and Arts Kazimierz Zygulski, and members of the Sejm Culture and Arts Commission.

While presenting the team's intended ventures, its chairman, PRON TRK Presidium member Walenty Milenuszkin declared that the movement, in all of its activities intended to serve as advisor, consultant, and articulator of public opinion to creators of culture, at the same time contributing to the dissemination of creative achievement in the broadest possible circles of society.

Lodz, Piotrkow, Skierniewice PRON Congresses

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by S.B.: "The Only Chance and Path to National Rebirth"]

[Text] Last Saturday, PRON provincial congresses held their sessions in Lodz, Piotrkow Trybunalski, and Skierniewice. They passed their programs and

operational directions for the near period and elected delegates to the First PRON Congress and the PRON National Council.

A participant in the first provincial PRON congress in Lodz was Sea Captain Walenty Milenuszkin, PRON WTR chairman in Gdansk. Local authorities were represented by: CC Politburo member and Lodz PZPR Committee first secretary, Tadeusz Czechowicz, PZPR Lodz Committee secretary, Andrzej Nandel, SD Provincial Committee chairman, Stanislaw Zalobny, ZSL Provincial Committee secretary, Stanislaw Wojtunik, City of Lodz People's Council chairman, Prof Mieczyslaw Serwindki, and Lodz City Mayor Jozef Niewiadomski.

The Piotrkow Trybunalski congress was attended by PRON TRK Presidium member Katarzyna Gaertner. Also in attendance were PZPR Provincial Committee first secretary, Stanislaw Kolasa, PZPR Provincial secretary, Karol Sekowski, ZSL Provincial Committee President, Tadeusz Dziekonski, SD Provincial Committee chairman, Zenon Raczynski, Provincial People's Council chairman, Tadeusz Nowakowski, and Piotrkow Governor Wlodzimierz Stefanski.

The second provincial PRON congress had 245 delegates in session. TRK PRON Vice Chairman Anatola Klejna was a participant. Also attending were PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Provincial Committee Secretary Mieczyslaw Kmita, SD Provincial Committee Chairman Jan Jarota, ZSL Provincial Committee Secretary Jan Jaros, Provincial People's Council Chairman Ludomir Gozdzikiewicz, and Skierniewice Vice Governor Piotr Myszkowski.

All three conventions were opened by the singing of the national anthem. The Lodz congress was attended by 256 delegates, including PRON TRK and WTR [Provincial Provisional Council] members, delegates to First PRON Congress elected by lower level PRON elements, and representatives of organizations and institutions, which are on record as enlisting PRON.

The session was successively chaired by Wladyslaw Rzymiski, Wojciech Jablonski, and Stanislaw Slomkowski.

In his programs-reports statement, PRON WTR Chairman Igor Sikirycki referred to the establishment of PRON WTR on 17 September. The WTR began to operate in an exceptionally difficult period, under complex sociopolitical circumstances, acute economic crisis, and complicated external conditionings. Our constant companion is an awareness of imperfection of some of our actions, but the PRON movement, now evolving and taking shape, is only beginning to develop methods and lines of action. They are centered on the good of the fatherland and protection of society's interests.

Society has given its friendly and ardent support to the decision on the erection of Polish Mothers Memorial Hospital in Lodz. The PRON WTR consortium made a motion at PRON TRK for PRON to assume sponsorship over this major investment project, which received a very affirmative and unequivocal acceptance.

OKON committees, one of the basic forms in PRON field activities, are playing a substantial meaningful role in PRON.

PRON has, as I. Sikirycki went on to observe, established cooperation with FJN [National Unity Front] and the contingent of Lodz City deputies assembling many devoted individuals for whom there is also room in PRON.

PRON consultative actions on changes in prices and housing policies also met considerable societal appreciation. Equally high marks were given an initiative to build a permanent residence home and school for handicapped children, launched by one of the OKON's in Lodz downtown area. This investment's account has already amassed 7 million zlotys, including 5 million zlotys channeled by the editorial board of GLOS ROBOTNICZY.

PRON WTR initiated and sponsored a Provincial Patriotic Poetry Contest with over 500 participating students. This event has the potential to acquire national caliber and to be permanently entered in the calendar of the city's cultural attractions.

In subsequent portions of I. Sikirycki's statement, emphasis was given to important documents: PRON ideological-programmatic declaration and statutory principles, both deserving to be disseminated in society as widely as possible by PRON activists.

As PRON, we wish to unite all Poles, regardless of their views, party affiliation, or beliefs. We desire for them to be linked by a common concern about the well-being of our state and the fates of people who live in it, PRON WTR chairman said in conclusion.

Next, provincial PRON congress Chairman Jacek Krzekotowski submitted to the convention the opinions and views voiced by participants in PRON gatherings during the pregress campaign. Those participants attended 114 OKON meetings and 20 city-section, urban-gmina, and gmina conferences. A general conclusion resulting from the body of this opinion is that PRON ideological principles have met overall acceptance of participants at all the conferences. It was also repeatedly pointed out that the movement's catholicity provides everyone opportunities to find a place within it.

Several dozen speakers took the floor during a discussion, emphasizing that the PRON draft declaration had explicit references to the chance PRON offered all citizens of Poland who desire to strengthen a sovereign, independent socialist state within secure boundaries. This is particularly significant in a period of imperiled world peace and unsettling policies of specific imperialist circles. Emphasis was strong on the PRON's combining the initiatives, achievement, and affirmative experience of the OKON's, spelled out in the declaration of PRON inception of July 1982. It was also pointed out that PRON should give increased consideration to a conglomerate of problems affecting the nation's food supply, while disseminating its ideas in rural communities.

References to upbringing of the young generation, its historical and economic education, and moral renewal of society recurred in many comments. The urgent need for restoration of a respect for work, and for enhancement of its prestige, was also mentioned, one speaker stating outright that the most

adverse development concurrent with the country's making its way out of the crisis was a total collapse of professional ethics. Several comments suggested empowering PRON to appear before the Sejm with legislative proposals.

The focal conclusion from the discussion was that PRON constituted the only chance of and road to national rebirth.

The convention participants were saluted by Captain W. Milenuszkin who said, among other things, that PRON's calling was to strive for creating a politically and economically strong Poland in which people would live prosperously and securely.

By secret ballot, 18 delegates to PRON Congress were elected: Elzbieta Boborowska, Andrzej Galecki, Stanislaw Garnysz, Leszek Gorka, Krzysztof Jakubiec, Wojciech Janicki, Edmund Jasiukiewicz, Jacek Krzekotowski, Jadwiga Lech-Skubinska, Stanislaw Muchewicz, Henryk Pawlak, Izabela Planeta-Malecka, Teresa Pruska, Krystyna Srokowska, Elzbieta Stelmaszczyk, Mirosław Szwankowski, Sławomir Swierszczynski, and Jerzy Zak.

Also by secret ballot, candidates to PRON National Council were elected: Krzysztof Jakubiec, Jacek Krzekotowski, Izabela Palneta-Malecka, Igor Sikirycki, and Andrzej Zaborowski.

In conclusion of the session, the convention adopted a resolution staking out principal directions for PRON activities in Lodz Province in the near future and mandating its consortium to review and develop motions submitted during the pre-congress campaign, in order to present to the PRON WTR a draft program of operation covering all principal social problems.

Delegates for Szczecin PRON Congress

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by W. Jur.: "Provincial PRON Convention in Szczecin. 'We Accept All People to Whom Poland Is Dear.' Debate on the Movement's Declaration and Profile. Election of Delegates to National Congress"]

[Text] The first installment of PRON Provincial Convention was held in Szczecin last Saturday. The movement's activities on the eve of PRON's National Congress were assessed, and delegates to the congress and members of future (no longer provisional) PRON National Council were named. The second installment is scheduled to be held at a later date. It will focus on elections to PRON Provisional Council.

The Saturday session was attended by delegates elected by OKON's at plant, residential community, gmina, urban-gmina, and town levels. Also in attendance in the Musical Theater discussion hall located in the Pomerania Ducal Castle were delegates to the PRON National Congress nominated earlier by basic PRON elements.

Debate at the convention centered on the PRON draft program declaration and statute principles. Just as in the earlier conversations, meetings, and

discussions in diverse communities of western Pomerania, many comments were submitted during the Szczecin congress to enrich the content of the documents in question.

Representatives of urban communities addressed the issues of malfunctioning trade system, improper housing management, poor condition of urban transit, and pathological signs in societal life. Delegates from rural communities noted the need for improvement, by joint effort of the authorities and community residents, of land management and administration in the gminas.

Much of the discussion was devoted to the profile, origins, and ideological premises of PRON, with some controversial opinion surfacing. There are those who wished to see the movement as a very loose structure providing a platform for discussion over various issues of societal life. Others pointed out that a "loose" structure would prohibit effective counteracting of adverse developments. Still others suggested a very tight format to organize the movement so that it would evolve into a sociopolitical organization of a kind. Nearly every speaker participating in the pregress discussion affirmed that excess formalization and pomposity in the movement would be contrary to the objectives it had set up for society.

It was stipulated for PRON to be empowered to propose new legislation and to evaluate government members, governors, city presidents and executive chiefs. Motions were proposed to have these qualifications entered in a program document to be enacted by the PRON National Congress. Relations between people's councils and rural and urban self-government bodies on the one hand and PRON elements on the other hand, must be specified.

As stated in the discussion, PRON must play an essential role in elections to Sejm and to the people's councils. Its activists should take part in the development of a new electoral formula, with PRON functioning as organizer of consultation over a draft law on the electoral formula. Emphasis was placed on PRON's consultative and opinion-generating role and on the social and political need for its functioning in this role.

Economic problems were rarely addressed in the pregress discussions in Szczecin, in the province, and during the convention. An affirmative assessment was given PRON Provisional Provincial Programs Coordinating Council in Szczecin, created on 24 September 1982, and composed of the signatories of the nationwide declaration, OKON activists and representatives of many social organizations.

The OKON elements formed in Szczecin as the first in the nation soon after the announcement of martial law are not formal structures of PRON TRW, but since their accession to the movement and adoption of its principles, they have been carrying out tasks and pursuing objectives taken by the entire movement for national rebirth.

The PRON National Congress must define our pursuits and rank our tasks and objectives, according to a Provincial Convention delegate from Goleniow. There is a need for extensive dissemination of information on the movement

and on its tasks. Some citizens believe that we are yet another echelon which can be appealed to to speed up apartment allotments.

Into our ranks, we will accept all those who are not hostile to the Polish state, said Kazimierz Lisicki, a Pax activist from Swinoujscie.

Szczecin City OKON chairman, a well-known "Rodlo" activist, Witold Kmiecik, renewed his proposal for PRON to become a "Patriotic movement for service to the fatherland."

Service to the fatherland in exceptionally difficult times is a fundamental duty of every Pole, especially at this time when prominent western politicians go on record with bizarre remarks concerning Poland's borders, while FRG revisionists attempt to question our presence on ancient Piast-Poland lands on the Oder and the Baltic, W. Kmiecik said.

Protests against revisionist pronouncements in FRG were part of comments made by many speakers at the PRON Provincial Convention in Szczecin.

The convention nominate delegates to PRON National Congress: Bohdan Daniel, Jozef Drzepinski, Teresa Duniec, Kazimierz Fijalkowski, Stefan Gajocha, Jerzy Golinski, Josef Grzegorzewicz, Krystyna Kesik, Maria Kocwin-Podsiadlo, Adam Kordal, Kazimierz Lisicki, Zbigniew Roslaniec, Adam Rozylo, Anna Sochaj, Ryszard Szunke, and Czeslaw Uscinowicz. Together with congress delegates elected in plant, gmina, and city elements of PRON, they will represent Szczecin and Szczecin Province at the PRON National Congress.

The following persons were named to the PRON National Council, to be appointed by PRON Congress: Witold Ankutowicz, Waldemar Grzywacz (acting PRON TRW chairman in Szczecin), Kazimierz Lisicki, Jan Majewski, and Zbigniew Roslaniec.

12199
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NATIONAL POSITION TOWARD NEW LAW OF SEA ASSESSED

National Disadvantages, Advantages

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prof Janusz Symonides, director of the Polish Institute for International Affairs, by Pawel Tarnowski: "Law and the Sea"]

[Text] [Question] Professor, the preparation for the Law of the Sea Convention, which was signed in December 1982 by 119 countries, lasted almost 10 years and consumed half of the careers of a whole generation of diplomats. Was that wasted time?

[Answer] They certainly did take their time in completing one of the most important legal documents of the 20th century; yet the document itself will continue to direct the whole world because of its conclusions even in the next century.

[Question] But tell us why it really took so long.

[Answer] The reason is that the Conference on the Law of the Sea had many issues to settle. There were enough issues that it could have taken several, perhaps several dozen international conferences to cover them all. So many issues, in fact, that such individual gatherings would never have reached complete agreement. The signing of the convention was possible only because it was based on the principle of mutual concessions and compromises. Individual countries lost on some issues, but won on others. In the end we were successful in accomodating the contradictory interests.

As a result, humanity now has a document which regulates the usage of the seas and oceans; it is a document in which there are articles which deal with shipping, navigation, fishing, exploitation of the ocean floor, protection of the environment, scientific research, the transfer of technology, etc. The convention has created a framework for international cooperation and the peaceful settlement of disputes between the convention's signatories. For this reason, the document is called the constitution of the world's oceans.

[Question] Currently, there is a Preliminary Commission meeting in Jamaica. What tasks does this commission have? Why are future meetings of lawyers and diplomats being set up, if the convention has already been signed?

[Answer] Although the convention has been signed, this does not mean that it is binding. The convention will become binding the year after its ratification by 60 countries. In the meantime, several very important organizational problems need to be arbitrated, such as the determination of the operating principles of the Council and Assembly of the future International Organization on the Use of the Ocean Floor. This organization will direct the exploitation of undersea minerals, determine the rules and regulations of the Law of the Sea Tribunal and then finally solve several contested but serious problems. This requires time and many arduous negotiation sessions.

[Question] During the voting on the wording of the convention's text, the majority of the socialist countries abstained from taking a position until they finally signed the convention after several additional months had passed. What were the reasons for our distinct hesitation and initial restraint?

[Answer] Our greatest reservation was caused by the decision to recognize the individual authority of so-called pioneer investors, i.e., not only the authority of individual states, but also of 4 multinational companies, to receive special privileges in the exploitation of the ocean floor. By abstaining initially, the socialist countries demonstrated the opposition to such a solution that had never been a part of international law.

[Question] But in the end, the convention was signed also by these countries.

[Answer] Yes, because we assumed that such incomplete regulations were better from our point of view than complete and unrestrained anarchy. Besides, as far as the remaining articles of the convention are concerned, we had no great objections.

[Question] What will this Convention on the Law of the Sea bring for Poland?

[Answer] Please remember that during this conference, our country belonged to a group of 54 nations considered to be landlocked and geographically poorly situated. After the introduction of the 200-mile economic zones and zones of restricted fishing, which we did not create--after all, we do most of our fishing along foreign shores--we sustained losses and not advantages. The convention only sanctioned an already existing situation. These zones would have come about even without the results of the conference.

On the other hand, of positive and yet essential significance for us is the fact that we are guaranteed the freedom of navigation even in the waters around archipelagos and in straits, and were have been allowed

to have 12 miles of our own territorial waters. The convention has put an end to claims in these matters. Beyond this, because of our unfavorable geographic location and historical events, it grants us certain rights to take advantage of our traditional waters for fishing. The actual realization of this right depends, however, on the good will of those countries with seacoasts. Without this convention, we would not be guaranteed even that.

Finally, the organization of the great issues associated with the exploitation of the seas and oceans also lies in our interests. We are also satisfied with the results of this arrangement.

[Question] Are the chances for this Law of the Sea taking effect quickly good?

[Answer] I think so. In all probability, the convention will be quickly ratified. The basic barrier to the convention's ratification is the financial and organizational settlement of the exploitation enterprises and the International Organization of the Ocean Floor. We can expect that this exploitation will begin at the end of the 1980's or early 1990's.

[Question] In speaking about this Convention on the Law of the Sea, we cannot forget that the convention, in its current form, has at least one great opponent who understands this agreement as such that other nations have to completely subordinate themselves to its conditions. This opponent is the United States. The Americans, who for a long time actively participated in the conference's proceedings, failed to sign the convention after Ronald Reagan took office, despite the fact that the convention is very favorable to the United States in many areas. The current U.S. administration simply has other ideas about the rules for exploiting the ocean floor than the other 119 countries. What kind of consequences will this have?

[Answer] The International Organization of the Ocean Floor will be funded in the same way that the United Nations are. The United States covers a quarter of the United Nations' expenditures, which means that without the United States, the first real effects will be financial; that is, less money. Besides, the United States can influence the attitudes of several other highly developed countries, which currently have the best technology for the exploitation of subsea resources. Of course, none of this will prevent the convention from becoming a fact of life.

However, we cannot exclude the possibility that the United States will soon decide on the exploitation of the resources of the sea floor despite any maritime law. Such a move would be a dramatic clash between the interests of the United States and the interests of international society. Let us hope that it ultimately will not go so far.

[Question] Can we hope that Poland will achieve any kind of advantage from the upcoming exploitation of the sea floor?

[Answer] Even if this were so, not right away. Exploitation allotments have already been divided among 8 pioneer investors and the organization itself. Initially, small benefits from the operations will be divided among the most needy. In this situation, the most important fact for us, as a major copper producer, is that the exploitation of subsea deposits, from the perspective of adopted restrictions, should not jolt the international market for non-ferrous metals and lead to a decline in prices. As I see it, the exploitation of subsea minerals is an undertaking a bit too expensive for us at this time. Besides, we have more important issues to settle here on land.

Factors Determining National Position

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 1, Jan 83 pp 7-24

[Article by Janusz Symonides: "Poland and the New Law of the Sea"]

[Text] The adoption at the 11th session of the 3rd Conference on the Law of the Sea on 30 April 1982 leads us to consider the degree to which the convention will protect Poland's interests. In order to answer the question we have to define, above all, those factors which clarify our position on the issues associated with the law of the sea. The first factor is geography. Poland lies on the Baltic Sea, a semi-closed sea, and because the sea has a limited surface, Poland cannot possess either a complete 200-mile economic zone, or even the smallest continental shelf. In conducting navigation, Polish ships are required to sail through straits. Poland is also a transit country which provides two countries, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, access to the sea. The geography of our country was responsible for the fact that at the 3rd Conference we belonged to a group of "geographically disadvantaged" states; this group, together with landlocked states, consisted of 54 members. This concept is acknowledged by the convention which refers to it in a series of articles covering the makeup of the council of the Organization of the Sea Floor, scientific research and the transfer of technology.¹

The geographic situation determines how large the economic zones are for individual states. The differences in this are enormous. If we compare the land area with the extent of certain economic zones, then in the case of Nauru, the zone is 15,329 times larger than the country's land area; for the Maledies--2,432 times; for Tonga--643 times; for Mauritius--479 times; and for Malta--203 times. At the same time, Zaire's zone is only 0.001 percent of its land area, Iraq's--0.1 percent, Congo's--0.8 percent; and Cameroon's--2 percent. Poland's fishing zone is about 6 percent of our land area. Landlocked countries are in an even worse situation; they have no zones and no direct access to the sea. If we are talking about the size of economic zones, then the largest zones are possessed by the United States--2,222,000 sq miles; Australia--2,043,000 sq miles; Indonesia--1,577,000 sq miles; Canada--1,370,000 sq miles; New Zealand--1,409,000 sq miles; and the USSR--1,309,000 sq miles.²

Not only their geography determined the position of individual countries at the 3rd Conference on the Law of the Sea, but also specific shipping and fishing interests, the degree of technological development and the possession of mineral resources. Certain states, having large fleets or a developed shipbuilding industry, were, of course, interested in maintaining freedom of navigation. Countries carrying on deepsea fishing strove to secure for themselves access to the living resources of the world's oceans. Developing states wanted to gain access to sea technology and continental mineral producers struggled for a policy covering the future exploitation of the mineral resources of the ocean floor which would not result in over-production and, therefore, a decline in the prices of such resources.

There was no doubt that Poland belonged to those countries interested in maintaining the maximum freedom of navigation; this position is tied to the possession of considerable tonnage sailing under the Polish flag. While we possessed 619 ships in 1960, by 1970 we had 1,580 and 3,639 in 1980.³ Correspondingly, the carrying capacity of our fleet grew from 824,000 tons in 1960, to 1,926,000 tons in 1970, to 4,523,000 tons in 1980.⁴

Poland also has an extensive shipbuilding industry, and a considerable part of our foreign trade sales moves by sea.

Considering the growing needs for foodstuffs and the limited resources of the Baltic, Poland was forced to become involved in fishing outside of the Baltic and had to build, at considerable expense, fleets for deep-sea fishing. Our catches rose from 187,000 tons in 1960 to 800,000 tons in 1977, only to decline afterwards from 654,000 tons in 1977 to 571,000 tons in 1978.⁵ In 1981 we caught 664,000 tons of fish, only a third of which came from our own economic zone in the Baltic.⁶ Therefore, the proper utilization of our fishing fleet potential is based on access to the live resources of other countries' economic zones.

The fact that Poland is a major producer of cooper, conducts extensive scientific sea research and ranks eleventh with regard to UN support, is important with respect to our position at the 3rd Conference on the Law of the Sea.

We have to stress, however, that Poland's position during the negotiations for a new maritime law was determined not only by its own national interests, but also by the social interests of a group of the socialist states, as well as by those states of international society in general. Our country often emphasized that a readiness to compromise with regard to the interests of all states and groups, as well as to solve the many disputed issues arising from the new law, was a condition in adopting a new, just maritime law.⁷

The extent of our individual and collective interests results in the fact that there are almost no resolutions at the new conference which will not have an impact on us. With regard to the limited parameters of this

study and in attempting to answer the question whether the new maritime law will benefit Poland or not, we have to restrict ourselves to an analysis of those provisions of the new law which guarantee freedom of navigation and access to the living resources of the world's oceans, and of those principles for the research and exploitation of the sea and ocean floors beyond the borders of national jurisdiction, as well as those which restrict.

The Freedom of Navigation in the New Law of the Sea

The convention's provisions dealing with the rules for shipping are the result of a hard fight which took place at the 3rd Conference between those, including an active Poland, who wanted to maintain the freedom to navigate and those who wanted to restrict it. Potential threats to unrestricted navigation were an outgrowth of the establishment of exclusive economic zones on considerable stretches of open sea, the acknowledgement of the concept of an island state, the extension of territorial waters to 12 miles and the restriction of the right of inoffensive passage for special mission vessels and warships.

The principle of freedom of navigation in an exclusive economic zone is recognized in article 58 of the convention. This article stipulates that all states, coastal and landlocked, may take advantage of the freedom to navigate and transit, as well as the laying of cables and pipes in an exclusive economic zone. States may also utilize the sea in any capacity which corresponds to the new law. Article 58 stressed in paragraph 2 that the convention's provisions which refer to the open sea (articles 88-115) have application to the economic zone insofar as they do not contradict those provisions which regulate its status.

It is worth mentioning that the legal status of the economic zone was the subject of a dispute at the 5th and 6th sessions of the 3rd Conference. Sea states, the EEC, the socialist countries and a group of landlocked, geographically disadvantaged states declared themselves for a distinct recognition of a zone as a part of the open sea, while coastal states, among which the most active were Ireland, Canada, Kenya, Mexico, Norway, Peru and Tanzania, demanded zonal recognition on a *sui generis* basis. The current text of article 58, which was adopted at the 6th session, was a compromise. On the one hand, the Conference recognized the economic zone as an area granted a special legal status;⁸ on the other hand, the Conference then emphasized that the traditional freedoms of the open sea, with the exception of the freedom to fish, are binding as before.

The recognition of the right of an island state to delineate a territorial sea through a system of straight lines resulted in considerable area of the open sea becoming currently the border areas between the basic lines.⁹ These areas, called archipelago waters, could be recognized as internal waters where there is even no right of inoffensive transit, and access to them is regulated by the island state. From the very beginning of the 3rd Conference on the Law of the Sea it was obvious that the right of island states to apply a system of straight lines will be recognized at the conference only with the stipulation of properly guaranteeing the shipping

interests of other states in island waters. Not only their considerable size determined the significance of island waters for international navigation, but also the fact that important sea routes are among them, including straits used for international shipping. Indonesia alone has 16 straits.

In order to protect shipping interests, the convention established a right of passage by way of the island route, which signifies the right of passage along marked sea and air routes¹⁰ for the exclusive purpose of executing a continued, rapid and least problem-causing transit between one part of the open ocean or exclusive economic zone and another part of the open ocean or exclusive economic zone. Routes upon which the right is binding should comprise all normal passage ways used for international sea and air shipping. On the remaining areas of island waters, the right of inoffensive passage, which can be extended as far as it is necessary for the protection of the security of a coastal state, is binding.

The adoption by the 3rd Conference of 12 miles as the permitted extent of territorial sea indicates that in the event of universal application of this limit, 116 straits used in international shipping will be contained in a territorial sea. In a situation of continued growth of trade fleet tonnage, the requirements to import raw materials and fuels through the straits of many countries and the increase in international sea trade make the guarantee of shipping freedom through straits a matter of major concern for all international society. The concept of supporting the legal status of those straits used for international shipping on the basis of the so-called right of uninhibited transit was also introduced into the convention.¹¹ If only the right of inoffensive passage were binding in such straits, then coastal states would be able to prevent overflight, submarines would have to sail on the surface, and the discussion on the right of inoffensive passage through a territorial sea by special mission vessels and warships would extend to the straits, while the jurisdiction of a coastal state would be the same in the straits as it is on a territorial sea.

In accordance with point 2 of article 38, transit is a demonstration of shipping freedom and overflight exclusively for the purpose of continued and rapid transit through a strait between one part of the open sea or an exclusive economic zone and another part of the open sea or exclusive economic zone. The requirement of continued and rapid transit does not exclude passage through a strait for the purpose of transiting back and forth from a state located on the strait.

Ships and planes in transit are obligated to sail through or fly over the straits without delay, abstaining from the use of any threat or force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of those states located on the straits, and also from any activity not associated with standard continued and rapid transit, unless the need for such activity is caused by greater force or danger.

States located on straits may issue rules and regulations covering transit as far as protecting shipping, preventing water pollution by fishing vessels, and taking on board or unloading any kind of cargo, currency or people. In regard to security, they may also designate sea routes for transit and set up a system for regulating traffic. A state located on a strait may not encumber transit but, on the contrary, should make known to shipping any and all dangers. Transit may not be suspended. Provisions on the right of transit have no application if (in the strait) there exists a route through the open sea or an economic zone with similar conveniences from the perspective of navigation and hydrography. Provisions covering transit also are not applicable to straits between an island and a seacoast if there also is a convenient route along the external side of the island in the direction of the open sea.

The adoption of the 12 mile width of a territorial sea has increased the significance of inoffensive passage through international straits in a real way. Conference participants agreed from the beginning that provisions defining the conditions from inoffensive passage need to be more specific. In international law, the admissibility itself of inoffensive passage does not raise any doubt as much as the right of a state to prevent or encumber "offensive" passage. However, many diverging views have already been voiced concerning the interpretation of the notion of "offensiveness" as a threat to peace, order or security of the coastal state. At the same time, the article goes on to explain that passage will be acknowledged as a threat to peace, order or security if any ship on the territorial sea undertakes any one of the 12 actions specified in it.¹²

Specifying the conditions of inoffensive passage will certainly bring desirable progress, even if there still exist doubts as to whether all of them are sufficiently clear. This particularly refers to the ban "on any kind of action not directly associated with passage."

A very controversial problem associated with the right of inoffensive passage was the issue of warships, specifically the admissibility of allowing their passage based upon prior notification of or granted permission by the coastal state. The convention does not differentiate between merchant ships and warships, nor does it stipulate their right of passage based on prior notification or granted permission. This position was an issue for the entire time of the conference with a group of several dozen states, mainly developing ones, which, by referring to current practice in this regard, sought the introduction of suitable changes in the texts of the planned convention.¹³

A differentiation in the right of passage between merchant ships and warships is not completely based on the common or conventional law. The 1958 Geneva Convention required neither permission nor notification beyond the stipulation, maintained ultimately in the new convention, that submarines sail on the surface; in a statement concerning the straits

at Corfu, the International Tribunal of Justice said in 1949: "In the opinion of the Tribunal, it is universally acknowledged and in accordance with international custom that it is the right of states in time of peace to dispatch their warships...without prior permission from the coastal state and on the condition that the passage is inoffensive."

The basic argument of the advocates of limited free passage for warships was the notion that it could become a threat to the security of a coastal state. Sea states, including Poland, emphasized that such views were incorrect, inasmuch as article 19 expressly prohibits all actions which present such a threat. Coastal states have great powers to regulate the rules of passage;¹⁴ they may delineate shipping lanes and set up systems regulating traffic, and may also temporarily suspend the right of inoffensive passage in specific areas of the territorial sea if such a suspension is indispensable to the security of the state.¹⁵

Advocates of freedom of passage for warships also pointed out that the convention's adopted resolution is indispensable with regard to the need to maintain strategic parity, upon which international security is currently based, and also with regard to economic considerations. It was finally stated that despite current opinions, warships, in addition to their purely military function, perform many police and protection functions; they serve in combating piracy and narcotic trafficking. Of significance was also the argument that restricting the passage of warships could set a precedent and become the first step in the direction of restricting the passage of special mission vessels. Article 23 of the convention requires only that ships with nuclear engines carrying nuclear or other dangerous or harmful cargoes be provided with documents during their inoffensive passage and abide by international agreements with regard to safety equipment.

The maintenance of navigational freedom in economic zones and in island waters, the acknowledgement of the uninterrupted transit through international straits and the maintenance of the right of inoffensive passage for warships and special mission vessels make clear that the new convention provides adequate guarantees for shipping, thus corresponding to the interests of international society, including Poland.

Access to the Live Resources of the World's Oceans

In the traditional law of the sea, in accordance with the binding principle of freedom to fish, fishing could be conducted in areas of the oceans and seas extending beyond the boundaries of territorial waters. The recognition of an exclusive economic zone has radically altered this situation. These zones now exclude a considerable, almost 40 percent area of the open sea from the freedom to fish. According to article 56, a coastal state has sovereign rights in its exclusive economic zone to research, exploit, protect and manage both the living as well as the mineral resources of the floor, its subsurface and the waters covering it.

The problem of access to the living resources of the economic zones was a subject of controversy from the beginning of the 3rd Conference. Claims to the right of the catches in the economic zones were made both by states traditionally associated with deep-sea fishing based on their "vested interests," and landlocked, geographically disadvantaged countries which conditioned their recognition of economic zones with a mutual consideration of their claims. Landlocked, geographically disadvantaged countries fought particularly energetically for access to the living resources of the economic zones of three countries. They demanded that this access be not limited only to surpluses, that it be qualified as a law, that their share of the catch rest on an equal, just and non-discriminating basis, and that landlocked, disadvantaged states have priority of access to living resources.

After fierce negotiations, rules were worked out which regulated the law of access to the living resources of economic zones. Although they do not satisfy the disadvantaged states, including Poland, they restrict first and foremost the freedom of the coastal state to control fishing operations in its economic zone.

The coastal state itself determines the size of permitted catches in its economic zone, while at the same time, it protects its live resources from the danger of overcatch by using the best scientific information available. To this end, the coastal state should cooperate with competent international organizations: subregional, regional and global. Efforts undertaken need to secure the livelihood and reproduction of species being caught at a level guaranteeing continued and maximum yield.¹⁶

With regard to the shortage of protein in the world and to the interest of all humanity in the utilization of every accessible source of food, the convention insisted on the optimum utilization of the living resources of the economic zones. As a result, if a coastal state cannot achieve all of the permitted catch, then it should allow other states to profit from the existing surplus in accordance with agreements made. In granting other states access to its economic zone, the coastal state should take into consideration all essential factors such as the significance of the living resources of the zone for its own economy and other national interests, the provisions of articles 69 and 70 concerning the access of landlocked, geographically disadvantaged states, the requirements of the developing countries of the region and subregion in relation to an acquisition of a part of the surplus and the need to reduce to a minimum the economic difficulties of states whose citizens traditionally have fished in this zone or who contributed substantially to the research and identification of the resources.

Fishermen from different countries who fish in a zone should adhere to those measures which protect and to other conditions defined by the coastal states' regulations. These could be made up of: the granting of licenses against payment, the specifications of species and fish sizes to be caught and the fixing of quotas, catch periods and their areas, as well as the types, sizes and number of fishing operations equipment.

The resolutions covering the rules of access to surpluses were sharply criticized by many states, including Poland, inasmuch as they essentially granted the coastal state, despite the principle of fairness, complete freedom in its choice of contracting parties, which are allowed access to the zone, irrespective of traditional catchers or contributions to the research and identification of the resources.¹⁷

The practical significance of article 70, which covers the right of geographically disadvantaged states to participate in the exploitation of a part of the surplus, is also unimportant. This article, agreed to at the 7th and 8th sessions as a result of the efforts of the special 4th negotiations under the chairmanship of S. Nandan (Fiji), envisions that geographically disadvantaged states (states with unique geographic features)¹⁸ have the right to catch a part of the surplus of the living resources of the coastal state's exclusive economic zone, located in the same subregion or region. The conditions for access are to be determined by way of bilateral, subregional or regional agreements with consideration of the food requirements of the peoples of the interested states and the size of the share of a given geographically disadvantaged state in the exploitation of the living resources of other zones, as well as the degree of participation by other landlocked, geographically disadvantaged states in the exploitation of the living resources of the economic zone of a given coastal state.

In discussions on this article, Poland repeatedly stressed that if a geographically disadvantaged state is in a region where there is no surplus, it should have the right to fish in a neighboring region; otherwise this article will have no practical significance for this state. Finally, in understanding article 70, the term "region" should be interpreted as an oceanic region in accordance with the routine adopted by FAO.

Even these minor possibilities, which disadvantaged states and states traditionally having conducted deep-sea fishing emphasized, are victories on the basis of the convention, but they will be without significance if claims are not investigated or if disputes associated with the exploitation of the zones' living resources are not settled peacefully. For this reason, states interested in access demanded that fishing disputes be handed over to binding arbitration. This proposition met with decisive opposition from the coastal states and finally, under the title of compromise, a solution envisioning binding conciliation was agreed upon as a result of the efforts of negotiations group 5.¹⁹ Thus, at the request of one of the parties, disputes can be submitted to conciliation when: a) a coastal state does not perform its duties of proper conservation and management of its zone's living resources, b) a coastal state arbitrarily refuses to define the admissible catch and c) a coastal state arbitrarily refuses to grant a state, in accordance with articles 62, 69 and 70, the entirety or part of the declared surplus. The report of the conciliation commission is sent to the appropriate international organization. The report is not binding; its significance lies solely in its appeal to world public opinion. It is not, as experience teaches, a sufficiently effective guarantee for the extraction of obligations.

If we are dealing with fishing operations on the open sea, then freedom was upheld and the convention obligates states to protect their living resources and to cooperate internationally in this regard.²⁰

The Principles for the Research and Exploitation of the Ocean and Sea Floors Beyond the Borders of National Jurisdiction.

The problem of the legal status of the ocean and sea floors was raised for the first time in 1967 when a point referring to the peaceful utilization of these areas was written into the agenda of a U.N. General Assembly. Two years later, on 15 December 1969, the Assembly passed a resolution which obligated states as well as legal and entrepreneurs to refrain from any exploitation of the resources of the sea and ocean floors beyond the borders of national jurisdiction.²¹ In a follow-up declaration of the General Assembly on 17 December 1970, this area was recognized as the "common heritage of humanity," and it was envisioned that it be submitted to a legal regime and that a special international mechanism be created.

In the efforts of the 3rd Conference, the formulations of the General Assembly were affirmed and expanded. The ocean and sea floors beyond the borders of national jurisdiction, as well as their resources, were recognized as being the common heritage of humanity. No state may make any claims, claim sovereignty or exercise sovereign rights over any part of these floors. The disposer of any rights to the resources of these international areas is humanity as a whole, and in whose name a special Organization of the Sea Floor is to act.²² The benefits acquired from the exploitation of the resources will be divided by an Assembly of the Organization in accordance with the principle of non-discrimination.²³ In discussions covering the principles of the division of the benefits resulting from the exploitation, Poland repeatedly emphasized that the recognition of the particular interests of the developing countries and peoples, which have not yet achieved complete independence, cannot imply the restriction of the term humanity, in whose interest exploitation is to be conducted, to only this group of countries.

The special principles for the future exploitation of the riches of the sea and ocean floors beyond the borders of national jurisdiction and also the riches of polymer concretion were the subject of sharp controversies which lasted almost to the end of the Conference. A variety of opinions referred to the issues of whether this exploitation is to be conducted exclusively by the future Organization of the Sea Floor through the offices of a special Enterprise, or whether mining activity to be restricted, or how to protect this international area from monopolization, whom to grant the status of pioneer investor and how to guarantee his interests.

The developing countries emphasized that if the essential element of the recognition of the ocean and sea floors as the common heritage of humanity is its subjection to an international agency, then the exploitation of the resources should be turned over exclusively to the Organization of

the Sea Floor. On the other hand, other states, including the socialist countries as well, took the position that all states should have access to these resources, along with the benefits from exploitation being justly divided with special consideration of the interests and needs of the developing countries. As a result of difficult negotiations, the formula of the so-called parallel system of exploitation was worked out and adopted. Article 153 envisions that exploitation of the international area be organized and controlled by the Organization of the Sea Floor, but that it also be conducted in a parallel fashion by an Enterprise acting as an agency of this Organization, or by states or persons authorized by the Organization on the basis of contracts concluded with the Organization.

One of the most difficult issues turned out to be the limitation of exploitation. There appeared a variety of positions and interests between the continental producers and exporters of nickel, cobalt and manganese and their chief consumers. The continental producers were interested in a chance to restrict the long-range amounts to be mined; but a number of developed states attempted to eliminate any kind of production control and essentially wanted to raise production ceilings. The convention's adopted production limits are supposed to encourage the mining of minerals from the sea floor and simultaneously protect the continental producers from severe losses. Article 151 envisions that the mining of minerals from the sea floor can cover only 60 percent of the annual growth rate of nickel requirements, while its growth rate may not be less than 3 percent annually.²⁴ Since Poland is a major producer of copper, the question arises whether seafloor mining will not basically threaten our interests.²⁵

At the request of the Conference, the Secretariat presented a report which covered the possible effects of mining polymer concretion for the economy of the developing countries.²⁶ To be sure, it contains no decisive conclusions, but it maintains that in short and medium range plans, this mining will not have a great impact on the copper market; however, the effects of deepsea mining on the producers of nickel will be stronger. Afterwards, it will be more severe for the producers of cobalt and manganese.

The convention contains a provision which aims at protecting international society from the monopolization of exploitation in the entire international area or any of its parts by one state, group of states or those legal persons having state affiliation. The so-called anti-monopolistic clause refers only to that part of the sea and ocean floors which is to be exploited by individual states of their enterprises and does not cover those areas reserved for exploitation by the Organization of the Sea Floor through the offices of its Enterprise. A number of states, including the Soviet Union, France and Poland, demanded that this clause be strengthened by including the activity even in those parts of the international area reserved for the Organization.²⁷ These propositions, however, were not considered. The final, 11th Session of the Conference,

which adopted the final convention text, discussed the issue of how to protect the investments made by a state or private partnership before the convention takes effect.²⁸ As a result of negotiation, a resolution was worked out which grants so-called pioneer investor status, authorizing precedence to conduct research and exploitation of the international area to: France, India, Japan and the USSR, as well as to four private international corporations (all with considerable American capital).²⁹ The socialist states took the position that the granting of such a status in an international treaty to private international enterprises as if they were states constitutes a violation of the practice of international law as practiced until now. There is a feeling of insecurity caused by the fact that the capital of a state, which will not sign and ratify the convention, will be able to participate in the exploitation of the international area. Since this resolution was passed together with the convention, the socialist countries abstained from voting.

Among the different issues associated with the legal regime of the sea and ocean floors and which also touch directly upon Polish interests, it is necessary to mention the problem of financing the future Organization and its projects, as well as the makeup and system of voting on the Administrative Council. In regard to the fact that our contributions to the United Nations are relatively large (they were 1.26 percent of the United Nations' entire budget in 1980, Poland demanded that investment amounts to the Organization of the Sea Floor and the first exploitation project undertaken by the Enterprises would not be determined by the size of U.N. contributions, but by potential exploitation benefits. In other words, the idea is that the costs of undertaking exploitation should fall chiefly on those who themselves will conduct the mining activity in the international area. Indeed, these propositions were not adopted, but it was agreed upon that the investments for the first project will not be paid in one lump sum, but gradually, depending on the needs of the Enterprise which will be designated by the Administrative Council.

With regard to voting on the Council, the developing countries demanded that the Council make its decisions based on a majority of the vote since it is the executive organ of the Organization. In turn, developed countries wanted the right to veto. The socialist countries advocated such a solution which would guarantee an equally fair position to all regional groups. The compromise contained in article 161 of the convention envisions three approaches to voting: unanimity, a three-fourths majority, and a two-thirds majority, depending on the category of the issues. It is worth noting that the Council, which is made up of 36 members, is supposed to cover five groups of interests. Since representation is planned for at least one of Eastern Europe's socialist states in three of the five groups, our role in the Council is probably great.

In evaluating the rules for the research and exploitation of the sea and ocean floors beyond the borders of national jurisdiction, from the viewpoint of Polish interests, we have to note that our chances in gaining a certain percent of the benefits from the operations in this area are very modest, especially so since the propositions for a more favored treatment of geographically disadvantaged states were rejected. As far as the possibilities of undertaking their own exploitation of sea and ocean floor activity, these are actually small, particularly during the first phase of the exploitation, inasmuch as 8 pioneer investors together with 2 mining projects of the Enterprise will reach the production limit of 38,000 tons of nickel. Even if this limit is increased, it may not exceed 46,500 tons. Financial considerations are also not very promising for Poland. On the other hand, our eventual participation on the Council is a small victory for us.

The Rules for Delineating Maritime Areas

The setting of criteria for delineating the areas between states located either opposite or adjacent to one another is basically significant for Poland. Since the Danish island of Bornholm is located close to our shores, Poland is interested in delineating its economic zone and continental shelf based not on a line of equal distances, but on the principle of fairness.

Almost from the beginning of the 3rd Law of the Sea Conference, two opposing groups of interests were distinguishable on the issues of delineating the sea areas: one group was for a center line and the other emphasized that delineation should be based on the principle of fairness.

The position of the first group (22 states) was stated in document NG 7/2 which performs the role of program manifest. Its signatories affirmed: "1. The delimitation of the exclusive economic zone (continental shelf) between states located opposite or adjacent to one another will be settled by way of agreement applying, as a general rule, a center line or line of equal distance, taking into account, where justified, all special factors."³⁰

The other group (29 states) presented its viewpoint in document NG 7/10 which stated: "1. The delimitation of an exclusive economic zone (continental shelf) between states located opposite or adjacent to one another will be settled by way of an agreement, in accordance with the principle of fairness, taking into account all essential factors and employing, wherever proper, any method to conclude a just settlement."³¹

Where were the real differences between the positions of the two groups of states? The signatories of document NG 7/2 stressed that a center line (or line of equal distance) is not only the chief method of delimitation, but also the binding principle of international law. They questioned the role of the principle of fairness, maintaining that

the principle is unclear. Eventual problems, which can arise with a delimitation of the borders of a shelf or zone, can be solved, in their opinion, by appealing to the concept of "special factors."

The group of 29 states stressed that a center line (or line of equal distance) is only one of the methods of delimitation which can be employed when it leads to a just settlement. Every delimitation has to be based on the principle of fairness because this is specified by custom and public opinion. The concept of "special" factors is unclear if the advocates of center lines do not even recognize the protrusions of islands as such a factor. As a result, instead of "special" factors, we should talk about "essential" ones.

In the face of the difficulties in reaching a compromise between the two interest groups, T. Koh, the Conference's chairman, actively participated in the negotiations in the second part of the 10th Session. He proposed a formula which was ultimately introduced into articles 74 and 83 of the convention. It affirms: "The delimitation of an exclusive economic zone (continental shelf) between states located opposite or adjacent to one another is to be settled by way of an agreement based on international law; this is defined by article 38 of the MTS [International Court of Justice] statute for the purpose of reaching a just settlement."

Indeed, this formula provides no distinct delimitation criteria, but refers only to international law. It was, however, supported by a majority of those states which stood for the principle of fairness. Poland also supported this principle, inasmuch as it emphasizes the need to reach a fair settlement, drops the reference to a center line and makes the point that there will be no special definition of a center line in the convention. There is also the result that in defining an economic zone or continental shelf, other principles are binding in designating a territorial sea, if the ultimate settlement is to be fair. This inevitably means a reference to the principle of fairness, since only this principle can guarantee the just nature of the final settlement.

An evaluation of the new convention's provisions on the Law of the Sea results in the fact that not all of them are favorable to Poland. It is also difficult to speak of the complete satisfaction of our claims and interests, especially if we are talking about fishing. Still, with regard to the question whether the convention should be binding or whether it should be signed and ratified, the answer is yes.

In accordance with article 308, the convention is to take effect in 20 months after it has been ratified or acceded to by 60 states. What would happen if the new maritime law were not strong enough to obligate? There is no doubt that instead of cooperation, conflicts and tensions would dominate the world's seas and oceans.

In order to appreciate the significance of the new convention, we must realize that, despite all its shortcomings, it puts a stop to unilateral claims, defines clearly the borders of a territorial sea, an economic zone and a continental shelf. Without it, a number of states could maintain their claims to a territorial sea which would extend far beyond the current 12 mile limit. The border of the continental shelf could reach the center of the oceans; various coastal states--as was demonstrated at the 3rd Conference by the propositions of Argentina and Canada--would demand the recognition of their special rights in fishing even beyond the limits of their current 200 mile economic zone; the zone itself would then slowly become a territorial sea.

Not only the above-mentioned would be the negative occurrences in the event that the new document should prove to be powerless. Without the convention, the concept of "the common heritage of humanity" with regard to the sea and ocean floors beyond the borders of national jurisdiction would become a dead issue, inasmuch as the Organization of the Sea Floor, a very basic element of this concept, would not come into being. The threat of the unilateral exploitation of the riches of the world's oceans would become real. It would also be impossible to set up commissions on the issue of continental shelves.

The freedom of navigation could also be subjected to far-reaching restriction, both on a territorial sea and in island waters, as well as in an economic zone, especially for special mission vessels and warships. A straits state could question the right of transit. There would be no system for the peaceful settlement of growing disputes and conflicts in shipping and fishing operations. Even if the danger of not having 60 states ratify the convention is small, and the resolutions adopted by the 3rd Conference are supported by the developing countries (more than 1200) and also by the socialist countries (which abstained from the vote, because they refused pioneer investor recognition to four private international corporations), the fact that the United States refused to sign the convention ultimately places the universality of this document in doubt. On 9 July 1982, the American President announced that the part of the convention covering the exploitation of sea and ocean floors does not correspond to the interests of the United States; as a result, the United States will not sign it.³² If we add that in voting for the convention, Belgium, Spain, Holland, Luxemburg, the FRG, Great Britain and Italy³³ abstained, also because of part 11 of the convention, we see the probability that they will not sign or ratify it. This will cause problems for the effectiveness of the future regime of the sea floor. These countries contribute more than 40 percent of the United Nations' budget, and also the same amount for the future Organization of the Sea Floor and its Enterprise will probably come from the same countries. Besides France, Japan and the USSR, they are also the chief disposers of technology.

The non-accession to the convention by the United States and a number of Western states will create problems far beyond those of finances and technology. The text of the convention was worked out over a period of

10 years with the active participation of all states. The adopted resolutions are a series of multifaceted compromises and were acceptable to the various interest groups only because they were part of a whole package. The resolution of a number of issues on the territorial sea, economic zone and continental shelf were mutually interrelated. A concession on one issue was offset by a gain in another. The adoption of specific principles for the exploitation of the sea and ocean floors is associated with the mutual recognition of claims for the freedom of navigation. These principles were also adopted because of the interests of the developing states. If certain states refuse to respect those parts of the convention covering the sea and ocean floors, developing states would be exonerated from the obligation of complying with the provisions covering the transit through their straits or the right of inoffensive passage of warships through their territorial seas.

The accession to unilateral exploitation of the ocean and sea floors would be a violation of the standards of international law and would undermine the new legal order originating from the efforts of the 3rd Conference on the Law of the Sea--with all its negative consequences. From this perspective, we have to express the conviction that the convention will not only take effect, but will be ratified by all groups of states--both by developing countries, as well as by developed ones, both by the capitalist countries, as well as by the socialist ones. It is a sine qua non condition for establishing a legal order on the seas and oceans, i.e., something in the good interests of all international society and its individual members.

FOOTNOTES

1. Compare respectively articles: 161, 251, 266 and 269. "Draft Convention on the Law of the Sea"--document A/CONF. 62/L.78.
2. Data from NEPTUNE from 28 April 1975, pp 5, 6. On other methods of determining the degree of the "disadvantage" of geographic location--compare J. Symonides: "Geographically Disadvantaged States and the New Law of the Sea. Polish Yearbook of International Law," 1976, p 55 ff.
3. "Statistical Yearbook 1981," Warsaw 1982, p 696, table 127.
4. Ibid, p 398, table 31.
5. "UN Statistical Yearbook 1979/80," New York 1981, p 170.
6. Data from the Office of Maritime Economy of the PPR.
7. Speaking at the 31st session of the UN General Assembly, Stefan Olszowski, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated: "Our country attaches great importance to the efforts of the 3rd Conference on the Law of the Sea. We are convinced that the success of the

conference depends on the readiness to compromise for solutions which take into account the interests of all states and groups of states in such fundamental issues as the exploitation of the sea floor, the status of the economic zone, fishing, scientific research and others."

8. Article 55 states: "The exclusive economic zone is an area located beyond the territorial sea and adjacent areas. It is subordinate to a special legal regime established in this part, in accordance with which the laws and jurisdiction of the coastal state and the laws and freedoms of other states are defined by the appropriate provisions of this convention." For a more extensive description of the negotiations covering the legal character of the economic zone--see J. Symonides: "The Maritime Economic Zone," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, 1976, No 12, p 7 ff.; J. Symonides: "The Fifth Session of the 3rd Conference on the Law of the Sea," TRANSPORT I GOSPODARKA MORSKA, 1977, No 1, p 23 ff.; J. Symonides: "The Most Important Problems of the 6th Session of the 3rd Conference of the Law of the Sea," TRANSPORT I GOSPODARKA MORSKA, 1977, No 11, p 663 ff.
9. The convention permits the use of straight lines only in the case of an island state which, in accordance with article 46, can be drawn from one or several of the islands. An island state is understood to be a group of islands connected by water and so closely located so as to form a geographic, economic and political unit, or have been so regarded historically. In accordance with article 47 in employing a system of straight lines, which surround the islands, the relation between the water surrounding them and the surface of land cannot be greater than 9 to 1, the length then of individual straight lines should not exceed 100 miles; only 3 percent of the number of straight lines can exceed this length by 25 miles.
10. The right of passage by way of an island route is regulated by article 53 of the convention which envisions that routes used for such passage should be designated by a straight, continuous axis from the entrance to exit points. Ships and planes may not deviate more than 25 nautical miles in any direction from the axis. The island state may introduce a system to regulate traffic in narrow channels.
11. The importance which society attaches to this problem is shown by the fact that one of the parts of the convention--part 3, made up of 12 articles (34-45)--was dedicated solely to it.
12. Prohibited actions include:
 - a) the threat or actual use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of the coastal state or the transgression in any manner of the principles of international laws as defined in the UN Charter;
 - b) the drill or use of any weapons;
 - c) any activity which strives to collect information threatening the defense or security of the coastal state;

- d) any propaganda which strives to weaken the defense or security of the coastal state;
 - e) the dispatch, landing or taking on board of any aircraft;
 - f) the release, landing or taking on board of any military device;
 - g) the loading or unloading of any goods, currencies or persons which violate the customs, fiscal or health regulations of the coastal state;
 - h) intentional and serious pollution, despite the provisions of the convention;
 - i) fishing;
 - j) any research or inspection;
 - k) activity which strives to disturb any type of communications and facilities or installations of the coastal state.
13. Even at the final 11th session of the Conference, a group of 30 states presented a plan for amendments--documents A/CONF.62/6. 117, which was not voted upon.
 14. In accordance with article 21, a subject of regulation can be: the safety of shipping, the protection of sites and navigation installations, the protection of cables and pipelines, the protection of living resources, the prevention of the violation of the laws on fishing and the protection of the environment, scientific research, and the prevention of the violation of customs, fiscal, immigration and health legislation.
 15. Compare article 25.
 16. Points 1, 2 and 3 of article 61.
 17. A coastal state has great freedom to "maneuver" with special conditions for the catching of fish, in order to restrict further or exclude completely the ships under a certain flag from a catch.
 18. Although in other articles of the planned convention we read much about geographically disadvantaged states, article 70 uses a different term--"states with special geographic characteristics"--with regard to the position of a group of "territorialists" and the chairman of the 2nd Committee. For these states, including states located on closed or semi-closed seas, the geographic situation subjects them to the exploitation of the living resources of the economic zones of other countries from the subregion or region for an adequate supply of fish in order to feed their people or a part of them. Then there are the coastal states which are unable to possess their own economic zones.

19. Stavropoulous (Greece) chaired this group. The formula worked out was presented at the Conference in May 1978.
20. These problems are regulated by articles 116-120 of the convention.
21. Resolution 2574 was passed at the 24th session of the UN General Assembly with 62 votes for, 28 votes against and 28 abstentions.
22. Respectively, articles 136 and 137 of the convention of the Law of the Sea.
23. Article 140, point 2. In accordance with article 160, point 2 the Assembly considers and approves, based on the Council's recommendation, the rules of and procedure for a just division of the financial profits and other economic advantages arising from operations in the area, as well as the payments and taxes, while particularly taking into account, when deciding, the interests and needs of the developing countries and peoples, which have not yet achieved complete independence and self-government.
24. During the discussion on mining limits, continental producers attacked the adopted quotas, because they believed that they permit excessive mining and thus create a threat to their interests. The major consumers presented the opposite view. The Conference coordinated at its 11th session for the Preliminary Commission to appoint a special commission to study the problems of production limits thoroughly. Its real task is to consider the usefulness of establishing a special compensatory fund for the continental producers.
25. Poland's production of copper increased systematically: from 48,000 tons in 1969 to 316,000 tons in 1978. In 1982, it is supposed to reach around 350,000 tons. See--UN STATISTICAL YEARBOOK 1979/80, p 213.
26. Document A/CONF.62/L.84
27. France also proposed that the Organization, while examining contract applications, give priority to those states which are still not conducting mining. PRESS RELEASE SEA/137, 29 August 1980, p 10.
28. The issue was raised in a number of documents: A/CONF.62/L.30; A/CONF.62/L.132/Add. 1 and Con.1; A/CONF.62/L.122 and A/CONF.62/L.116.
29. They are: 1) Kennecott Consortium, a part of: Sohio (USA); Rio Tinto-Zinc (Great Britain), British Petroleum (Great Britain), Noranda Mines (Canada) and Mitsubishi (Japan); 2) Ocean Mining Associates, registered in the United States, a part of United States Steel (USA), Union Minere (Belgium), Sun (USA) and Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (Italy); 3) Ocean Management Incorporated, incorporated in the United States, and a part of: Inco (Canada), Metallgesellschaft

(FRG), Preussag (FRG), Salzgitter (FRG), SEDCO (USA) and Deep Ocean Mining (Japan) and 4) Ocean Minerals Company, in partnership with the USA and a part of: Oil of Indiana (USA), Lockheed Aircraft (USA), Billiton (Holland) and BUW Ocean Minerals (Holland).

30. Spain chaired the group of 22 states. Included in the group were: Denmark, Japan, Yugoslavia, Canada, Sweden, Great Britain and Italy.
31. Ireland chaired the group of 29 states. Included in this group were: Algeria, Argentina, France, Iraq, Kenya, Poland, Rumania, Turkey and Venezuela.
32. DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, 1982, No 2065, p 71.
33. The following also voted for the convention: Australia, Austria, France, Greece, Ireland, Iceland, Japan, Canada, Norway, Portugal and Sweden.

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